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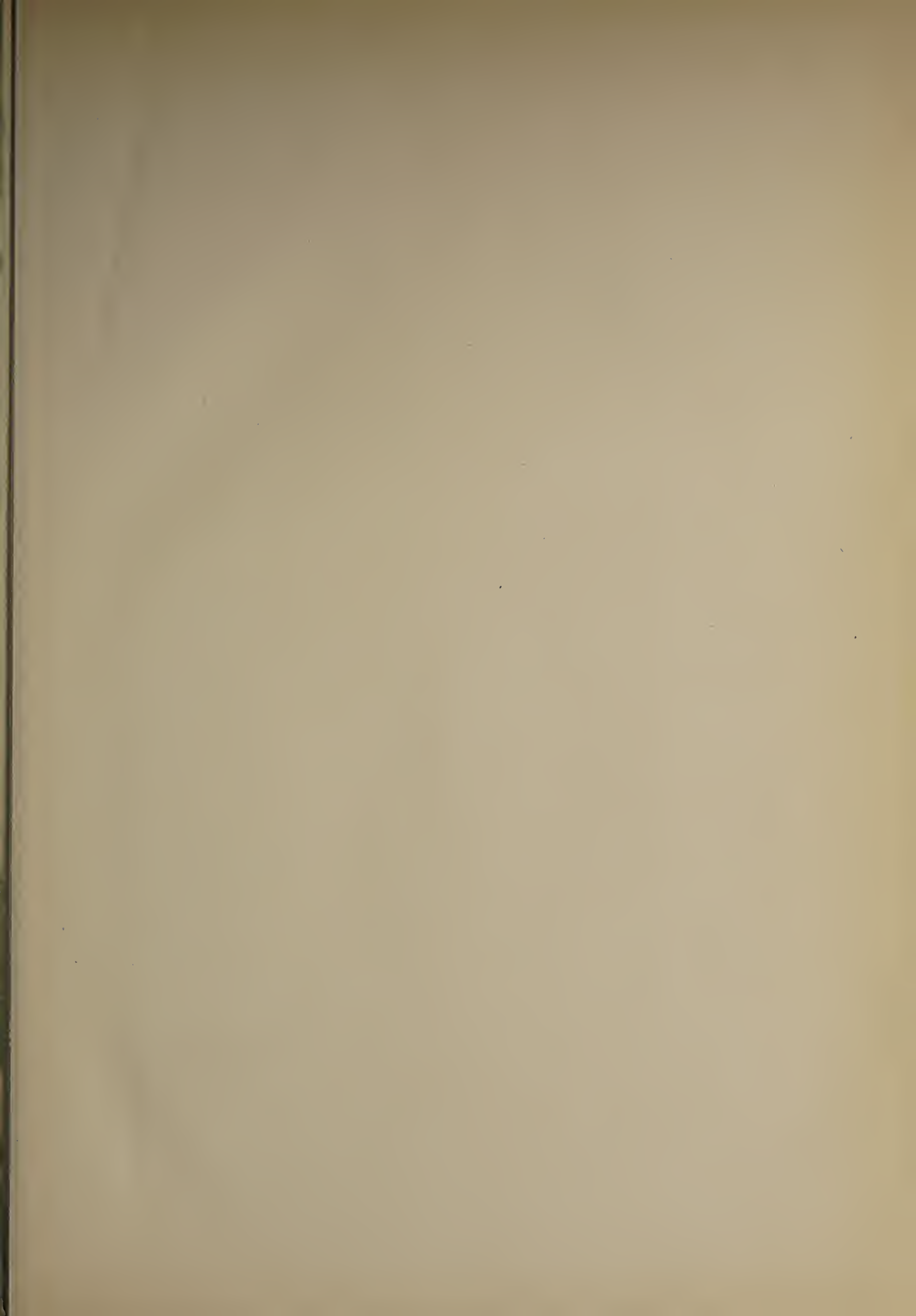
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Albert Perkins Langley

METROPOLITAN BOSTON

A Modern History

Editor-in-Chief

ALBERT P. LANGTRY

Ex-Secretary of State of Massachusetts

VOLUME I

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD



THE history of Boston has been written many times and the works are to be most highly commended, but nothing covering more recent times has been attempted. This work not only records the Colonial days better and more completely than anything previously attempted, but it is right up to date and gives the story absolutely complete.

The ancient story is full of most extraordinary accounts of the peculiar methods and thoughts of the men and women who settled in Trimountain. So strange were their acts, that it is difficult to believe the truth. The story on religion is of particular interest. Then the account of Boston in the War of the Revolution, 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish War and the World War is so full of interest that it reads almost like a novel.

Everything that Boston and the outlying cities and towns have done for civic betterment, and in the line of progress, is fully recorded. Nothing that the people desire to know is omitted. The stories of the leaders from the day of the settlement to the present are recorded in detail. Boston has produced more men of National fame than any other city in the country, and the record is so full of interest as to be entirely different from any other history ever published.

Boston grew from nothing to the great metropolis of today. To every resident of Greater Boston this story is the record of progress that is full to the limit of interest. The most expert writers have been secured and every department is dependably correct and comprehensive.

Boston was settled by the Puritans simply because it had springs of water. It has grown because of the wonderful harbor, and in its time has led the country in shipping. As a literary center it has always been at the front, and from an educational standpoint it is far in the lead. Boston is proud of Boston, and there cannot be a doubt but everyone will be proud of this record of accomplishments.

ALBERT P. LANGTRY.



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METROPOLITAN BOSTON

METROPOLITAN BOSTON

CHAPTER I.

METROPOLITAN BOSTON'S NATURAL SETTING.

The port of the Puritans—The fortunate visitor who first comes to Boston by way of the sea, receives an impression of the unique wide-flung bay, the picturesque island-locked harbor, and the fine new-old city that is never erased by journeys to other ports. There is an attractiveness about all seaports which cannot be approached by the most favored of inland municipalities, and there are few ports more delightfully interesting than Boston. Its harbor is one of the best natural harbors along the Atlantic. The bay, the name given to the indentation that extends from the headlands of Nahant on the north, to Point Allerton on the south, would provide anchorage for the fleets of the world. Eleven miles wide, it extends inland for nearly seven and a half miles, dotted with islands; a veritable storehouse of natural beauties and advantages. Boston Harbor, comprising all the water inside and west of the headlands of Deer Island and Point Allerton, has an area of 30,000 acres, with many channels, good anchorages, and miles upon miles of docks. An old official report speaks of the harbor thus: "Its greatest merit lies in a happy conjunction of many favorable elements, among which are the facility and safety of its approaches, the ample width and depth of its entrances, and above all the shelter and tranquillity of its roadsteads. Perhaps there is no other harbor in the world where the inlets of the ocean are better adjusted to the amplitude of the interior basins, or where excellent holding-grounds are so easy of access and yet so land-locked. Her interior water space is large, but is divided by chains of islands into basins which offer sufficient room for the heaviest ships afloat to ride freely at anchor, and sufficient tranquillity for the frailest fishing-boat." Mother Nature gave Boston a beautiful and convenient harbor; man has retained much of its beauties and added to its conveniences.

The First Visitors—The harbor was known and used long before the "Arbella" brought those who were to found Boston. If one accepts the Sagas of the Norsemen as veritable history, then it is possible that Bjärne, son of Herjulf, came sailing into port driven by an adverse wind from Greenland about the year 990, and found shelter. A short while later came Leif, son of Eric the Red, and in 1002, Thorvald, his brother, and in 1008, Thorfinn Karlsefne with three vessels, and still later others,

if the Norse legends be true. Some of these are supposed to have entered the Charles River and set up homes opposite the site of the present Boston. The tales of Norembega may be but a myth, but they touch with a fairy hand the ofttime dull story of the early development of the Boston Harbor region.

The eastern coast of Massachusetts was visited many times before any permanent settlement was made. Verrazano landed somewhere along these shores in the year 1524; Sir Francis Drake visited Cape Cod in 1586, and is credited by John Smith with giving the name New England to the country. Gosnold came in 1602, and John Smith himself in 1614. Nor must Champlain be overlooked, for he piloted the De Monts expedition which is said to have entered Boston Harbor in 1605. It seems quite certain, however, that no Englishman entered the waters until 1621, when it was visited by a party from Plymouth, under the command of Myles Standish. To Smith belongs the honor of making these parts known to the English. He explored most of the eastern coast, mapped and described the harbor that he apparently never entered. The "Paradise of these parts," as he described the site of Winthrop's settlement, possibly owed its development to the man who never set foot upon the peninsula that was to be its abiding place. His was the ambition to colonize New England, but shortly before his death he had to write: "I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my description."

Myles Standish Explores the Harbor—There is little doubt that after 1600 more than one fishing vessel or trading ship entered the waters between Point Allerton and Deer Island. Accounts are given of several of these. But the first thorough exploration of the harbor and the islands and lands surrounding it, was delayed until Myles Standish, in the early fall of 1621, set sail from Plymouth to establish friendly and trade relations with the Indians of the territory at the head of Massachusetts Bay. He had but an open sail-boat, which contained beside himself, nine white men and three savages. Slipping past Point Allerton on the first day, after a battle with adverse winds, he anchored near Thomson's Island. Although Standish called it Trevore Island, after one of the English sailors, but it was later claimed by one of the party in the name of David Thomson, of England, who eventually took possession.

The next morning, Standish landed at the foot of a rocky cliff (Squantum Head) and soon was in touch with the Indians he sought, although it was later on the trip that he found any males of the tribe. At Savin Hill, negotiations were entered into with the sachem found there, who proving friendly, guided them past the peninsulas now known as South

Boston, and Boston Proper. In the afternoon, Mishawum (Charlestown) was reached, where the night was passed. A bit of exploring of the region now Medford and Winchester, including the area between these places and the shore, and the party set sail for home. Only three days in all was spent on this journey, but although there was no penetration of the streams entering the harbor, nor extensive investigation of the islands and peninsulas, a very thorough knowledge of the region had been secured. The visit was made at the most delightful season of the year. The members of the party were, no doubt, impressed with the natural advantages and beauties of the region. Some could not help "wishing they had been there seated" instead of at Plymouth. But with the inarticulateness that seems to have hampered many of the Puritan and Pilgrim Fathers, little was written of the journey. The gist of the report made to Governor Bradford was:

Better harbors for shipping cannot be, than there are. At the entrance of the bay are many rocks and islands, and in all likelihood, very good fishing ground. Many, yea, most of the islands have been inhabited, some being cleared from end to end, but the people are all dead or removed.

The Site of Boston as the Puritans Saw It—The strange lack of definite description of the peninsula on which Boston was to be founded, hampers the endeavor to vision a picture of the place and its surroundings before the white man had changed its original state. We do not know how Shawmut impressed Winthrop and his colony. Smith said little, for which he may be excused, since he probably never saw the peninsula. Standish might have told more, but did not. Even Blackstone, or Blaxton, best fitted to be an authority on the early Boston, left nothing, although his papers destroyed during Philip's War may have contained something. We gain our earliest knowledge from the matured memories of a "romping girl," Anne Pollard, who was foremost to leap from the boat which came across from Charlestown and grounded at North End. She lived to be more than a hundred years old, and the recollections of her youth may have been biased by the long years spent in the colony. Her girlish impression was of a place "very uneven, abounding in small hollows and swamps, covered with blueberries and other bushes." From this slight remark has grown the impression that the area of original Boston was a treeless, rather barren, uninviting place, a notion further advanced by the description given by William Wood, a young visitor to Boston in 1630. "Boston," he said, "is two miles Northeast from Roxberry; His situation is very pleasant, being a *Peninsula*, hem'd in on the south side with the bay of *Roxberry*, on the north side with the *Charles river*, the Marshes on the Backe-side, being not halfe a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from

the Woolues. Their greatest wants be Wood and Medow-land, which never were in that place; being constrayned to fetch their building timber and firewood from the Ilands in Boates, and their Hay in Loyters. It being a Necke and bare of wood, and they are not troubled with three great annoyances of Woolues, Rattlesnakes, and Musketoës."

That the Boston Peninsula was always treeless can hardly be true. The other islands, for the peninsula was probably an island at one period, had their trees; those of the Boston location probably were removed by the Indians when they cleared the land for planting. Asa Gray believed that there may once have been a fairly dense growth of white spruce, which was replaced by a later growth of black spruce and arborvitae, these in turn being followed by the pines, the remnants of which must have greeted the eyes of the early colonists. There were but few large trees still standing when the first settlers arrived, for in 1637, Winthrop wrote to his son: "We at Boston, were almost ready to brake for want of wood."

Why Winthrop Chose Shawmut—There were other natural advantages of the peninsula which led to its selection over Cambridge as the home of Governor Winthrop. The principal reason, as given by the early writers, was that there was an abundance of good water in the place, a thing which other sites lacked. Mr. Blackstone went to Charlestown and told "the Governor of an excellent spring there, withal inviting and solicitating him thither," whereupon many left the former place and settled across the Charles. Then, some writers interpret the Indian word Shawmut (Mishawmut) to mean "living fountains," but the philologist, J. Hammond Trumbull, more learned in Indian nomenclature, believes that the meaning of the aboriginal term means "A place to go by boats," or "To which boats go," or again, "The boat landing place." Boston was fortunate to have good water for human use, whatever the meaning of the early title. Governor Winthrop built his house by the side of the one that it is thought was praised by Blackstone, the "Great Spring," in Spring Lane. Covered and a pump installed, this spring was used for more than two hundred years. Another noted spring was in Louisburg Square, by some thought to have been Blackstone's own, another where the Howard Athenaeum was erected, with an even more famous one where the town pump was situated.

The decisive factor, probably, in the choice of the peninsula as the site for a town, was the fact that it was almost an island and could be readily protected from the Indians who were feared far more than was necessary by the newcomers. Cambridge was more to the taste of an agricultural people, but fortifications had to be built on an extensive scale for safety from the possible marauder. The Boston site was compact,

with elevations looking out over sea and land, and only a very narrow neck to be fortified. Wood might be scarce, but it could be brought from the forest which covered much of the mainland. The area of the peninsula lacked any great quantity of tillable soil; but there was enough for immediate use, and the cattle could be pastured at nearby points, and about the swamps near the foot of the hills. "Safety first" seems to have been the watchword of the Puritan colonists. They set a sentry, had a beacon erected, and many of the first building projects were forts. They were strangers in a strange land, they came to have and to hold; who can blame them if in the endeavor to protect themselves and what they had, they somewhat erred on the side of caution and suffered therefrom in later years?

The Harbor—As suggested in the beginning of this chapter, the wonderful natural harbor made its appeal to our forefathers, much as it does to those of the present generation. The graphic description of the port as given in "New England's Prospect" nearly three centuries ago still remains good: "This Harbour is made by a great company of Ilands, whose Clifffes shoulder out the boistrous Seas, yet may easily deceiue an unskollfull Pilote, presenting may faire openings and broad sounds which afford too shallow water for any Ships, though navigable for Boates and small Pinnaces. It is a safe and pleasant Harbour within, having one common and safe entrance, and that not very broad; there scarce being room for three Ships to come in board-and-board at a time, but being once within there is roome for the Anchorage of 500 Ships." It was all that the writer described and more, a "safe and pleasant harbor," one close to the fisheries that were to prove the salvation of the colony, one that was to become the greatest port in the United States and the seat of the commercial supremacy of a continent. It is doubtful, however, where any expectation of a great future was visioned by the home-seekers from Boston.

With safety as the desideratum rather than the founding of a great city, they chose a location suitable to their purpose, but it must be confessed an altogether too contracted area for a future metropolis, and one not overly attractive topographically. A lover of Boston said of the early location: "The predominant features of the peninsula are familiar from descriptions in local histories, handbooks and lectures. They found it pear-shaped, jutting out between the harbor and river, attached to the mainland by a mile-long slender stem. Marked by abrupt elevations with valleys between; the loftiest elevation, the hill with the three peaks, on the river side, the next in height on the river front, one at the South, the other at the North; sparsely clad with trees, but thick with bushes and reeds; the surface indented with deep coves, inlets of river and

ocean, and by creeks and ponds; the sea margins wide, flat and oozy. It was in length less than three miles, in width, at the broadest part little more than one mile; while its total area was less than eight hundred acres."

The Geological Past of the "Boston Basin"—It may not be amiss to consider the geological history which lies back of the physical conditions about Boston. The peculiar and varied surface of the lands making up the Boston Peninsula and the territory which surrounds it was made so by certain combinations of geological events each of which played a part in producing this area. Because the region is unique, it has been given the title by geologists of "The Boston Basin." The greater part of the land now exposed is of recent origin, geologically, having been brought to its present location by the ancient rivers of which the Charles and Mystic are remnants, or deposited by the glaciers which once covered the whole of New England. In a non-technical sense, the basin contains much made land, much of the soil of Boston having been reclaimed from the sea and river by man. In technical terminology "made land" is the word used for such areas as that of the city, including all its parts.

If one inquires into the geological past of the Metropolis, one learns that it is believed by scientists that Eastern Massachusetts was originally a region of immensely lofty mountains. Professor Davis estimates that they once rivaled the Rockies and the Andes in height, lifting lofty peaks to the clouds that were covered with eternal snow. The great valley of this range is now the seat of Boston Harbor, as the changes wrought upon the earth sank this below the level of the ocean. Or, if the theory of other writers be taken, the ocean rose and filled the depths of the valley. The one great river making its way through the valley was the Charles, the Mystic, Neponset, Saugus and other smaller streams being but parts of this one stream system, in that they were all tributaries. The mouth of the original Charles was much farther to the east, there then being no harbor as we now have it. The early Hudson, ages ago, made its way miles out beyond its present mouth, plunging into the Atlantic in a great waterfall besides which Niagara is but a pygmy. In a like manner, the Charles, after draining a large portion of eastern Massachusetts, passed well beyond the present Boston Harbor before dropping into the ocean its burden. The vast amount of silt carried by this stream filled in much of the channel through which it moved, filling in the great mountain valley. The present ship channel is many hundred feet above the original trough of the ancient river.

On the tablets of the rocks and soils about Boston, is written the story of a second geological period, when a great upheaval of the surface wrought another change. The level of the land not only rose far above

its ancient levels, but was tilted slightly from the northwest to the southeast. There were no longer the enormous lakes of water thrusting their way to the sea, and the river was more sluggish, and no longer cut great valleys by their flow. Much of the present form of the land west of the city took on some of its present characteristics at that period. The wide valleys, the soft round-topped hills and the general irregularity of terrain replaced the harsh mountainous surface.

The third change, geologically, and this occurred within six to ten thousand years of the present age, left the region much as we see it today. The great change was brought about by the glaciers creeping down from the north and burying the land under a great sheet of ice more than a mile thick. The highest hills were covered or ground off; great ledges were broken down; immense hollows were gouged out by the gigantic resistless ice-sheet. What probably is of more importance to the early and the present residents of the Boston Basin is that the glaciers plowed up and scraped off much of the fertile soil and left in its place a strange mixture of debris, sand, clay and stones, none too attractive to the agriculturist. Where our forefathers settled was left a soil that needed the refinements of modern farming practice to make productive. Then, too, the enormous weight of the ice had an effect, the results of which have been felt within the last few years. It depressed the whole region, causing a sinkage of many feet, creating an internal pressure, which has been slowly relieved throughout the ages and is even now going on. The earth tremors, or earthquakes, felt in Eastern Massachusetts during the last few years are said to have been occasioned by the shifting of the surface in its attempt to overcome the compression brought about during the ice-age.

Professor Shaler on the Geology of Boston and Its Environs—The attempt by one who is not a scientist to describe the geology back of the present conformation of the territory surrounding Boston can but lead to failure. Professor Nathaniel Southgate Shaler has written a popular account of the geology of Boston and its environs, from which the following is a quotation:

"The New England District has been more frequently and perhaps for a longer aggregate time above the level of the sea than any other part of the region south of the Great Lakes. This has permitted the erosive forces to wear away the unchanged later rocks, thereby exposing over its surface the deep-lying metamorphic beds on whose masses the internal heart of the earth has exercised its diversified effects. This irregular metamorphism brings about a great difference in the hardness of the rocks, causing them to wear down, by the action of the weather, at very different rates. Then the mountain-building forces—those that throw

rocks out of their original horizontal positions into altitudes of the utmost variety—have worked on this ground more than they have upon any region east of the Cordilleras of North America. Again, at successive times, and especially just before the human period, and possibly during the first stages in this country, the land was deeply buried beneath a sheet of ice. During the last glacial period, and perhaps frequently in the recurrent ice times, of which we find traces in the record of the rocks, the ice-sheet for long periods overtopped the highest of our existing hills, and ground away the rock-surface of the country as it swept to the sea. During the first stage of the last ice period, this ice-sheet was certainly three thousand feet thick in Eastern Massachusetts, and its front lay in the sea at least fifty miles to the east of Boston. At this time the glacial border stretched from New York to the Far North, in an ice-wall that lay far to the eastward of the present shore, hiding all traces of the land beneath its mass.

“These glacial effects, successive ice-sheets, rested on a surface of rock, already much varied by the metamorphism and dislocations to which it had been subjected. Owing to the fact that ice cuts more powerfully in the valleys than on the ridges, and more effectual on the soft than on the hard rocks, these ice-sheets carved this surface into an amazing variety of valleys, pits, and depressions. We get an idea of the irregularity of the rock-carvings from the fretted nature of the seacoast over which the ice-sheets rode. When the last ice-sheet melted away, it left on the surface it had worn a layer of rubbish often a hundred feet or more in depth. As its retreat was not a rout, but was made in a measured way, it often built long irregular walls of waste along the lines where its march was delayed. When the ice-wall left the present shoreline, the land was depressed beneath the sea to a depth varying from about thirty feet along Long Island Sound to three or four hundred feet at the coast of Maine. The land slowly and by degrees recovered its position; but as it rose, the sea for a time invaded the shore, washing over with its tides and waves the rubbish left by the ice-sheet, stripping the low hills and heaping the waste into the valleys. While this work was going on, the seas had not yet regained their shoreline, which had been driven away by the ice, and the forests had not yet recovered their power on the land; so the stratified deposits formed at this time contain no organic remains. At the close of this period, when the land had generally regained its old position in relation to the sea, there were several slight irregular movements of the shore,—local risings and sinkings, each a few feet in height. The last of these were accomplished in this locality not long before the advent of the European colonists; some trace of their action is still felt on the coast to the northward. . . . ”

Looking on a detailed map of Southeastern New England, the reader will observe that Massachusetts Bay and Boston Harbor form a deep but rudely shaped reëntrant angle on the coast. If the map is geologically colored, he will perceive that around this deep bay there is a fringe of clay slates and conglomerates, or pudding-stones. Further away, making a great horseshoe, one horn of which is at Cape Ann and the other at Cohasset, the curve, at its bottom near the Blue Hills, includes a mass of old granitic rocks. This peculiar order of the rocks that surround Boston is caused by the existence here of a deep structural mountain valley or synclinal, the central part of which is occupied by the harbor. Long after the formation of the Green Mountains, at the time just after the laying down of the coal-beds of the Carboniferous age, this eastern part of New England, and probably a considerable region since regained by the sea, was thrown into mountain folds. These mountains have, by the frequent visitations of glacial periods, been worn down to their foundations, so that there is little in the way of their original reliefs to be traced. They are principally marked in the attitudes of that period of their rocks that have escaped erosion. The Sharon and the Blue Hills are, however, the wasted remnants of a great anticlinal or ridge that bordered the Boston Valley on the south side. The Waltham, Stoneham, and Cape Ann Bay granitic ridges made the mountain wall on its north side. Narragansett Bay and Boston Harbor are cut out in the softer rocks that were folded down between these mountain ridges. The lower part of the Merrimac Valley is a mountain trough that has been similarly carved out, and there are others traceable still further to the northward. This mountain trough is very deep beneath Boston; a boring made at the gas-works to the depth of over sixteen hundred feet failed to penetrate through it. If we could restore the rocks that have been taken away by decay, these mountain folds would much exceed the existing Alleghanies in height.

Rocks of the Vicinity—Within the peninsula of Boston, the seat of the old town, these older rocks that were caught in the mountain folds, do not come to the level of the sea. They were deeply covered by the waste of the glacial period. But in Roxbury, Dorchester, Somerville, Brookline, and many other adjacent towns, they are extensively exposed. They consist principally of clay-slates and conglomerates,—a mingled series, with a total thickness of from five to ten thousand feet. The slates are generally fine-grained and flag-like in texture, their structure showing that they were laid down in a sea at some distance from the shore. The conglomerates were evidently laid down in the sea at points near the shore; and they are probably the pebble-waste resulting from a glacial period that occurred in the Cambrian age, or at a time when the recorded organic history of the earth was at its very beginning. These

rocks represent a time when the waters of this shore were essentially destitute of organic life. In the whole section we have only about three hundred feet of beds among the lower layers that hold any remains of organic life; and these remains are limited to a few species of trilobites, that lived in the deep sea. From the slates and conglomerates of the Cambridge and Roxbury series, the first quarried stones of this colony were taken. The flagging-slates of Quincy, at the base of Squantum Neck, were perhaps the first that were extensively quarried. A large number of the old tombstones of this region were from these quarries. The next in use were those similar but less perfect slates of Cambridge and Somerville; and the last to come into use were the conglomerates and granites, that require much greater skill and labor on the part of the quarryman to work them. At first, the field-boulders supplied the stone for underpinning houses and other wall work; so that the demand for gravestones was, during all the first and for most of the second century of the existence of the town, the only demand that led to the exploration of the quarry-rocks of this neighborhood. Indeed, we may say that the exploration of the excellent building and ornamental stones so abundant here has been barely begun within the last two decades.

Although the rocks of this vicinity are extensively intersected by dykes and veins,—those agents that in other regions aid the gathering together of the precious metals,—no ore-bearing deposits have ever been found very near Boston. There is a story that a very thin lode of argentiferous galena was opened some fifty years ago in the town of Woburn, about eight miles from Boston, out of which a trifling amount of silver was taken, but, unlike the most of the other settlers in this country, the Massachusetts colonists seem never to have had any interest in the search for precious metals, and we know of no efforts at precious metal mining in the eastern part of this Commonwealth until we enter the present century. The craze for gold and silver, which seems almost inevitable in the life of the frontiersman, was unknown in the early days of New England.

Although the general features of the topography of this district are determined by the disposition of the hard underlying rocks, the detail of all the surface is chiefly made by the position of the drift or glacial waste left here at the end of the last ice time, but much sorted and rearranged by water action. If we could strip away the sheet of glacial and post-glacial deposits from this region, we would about double the size of Boston Harbor and greatly simplify its form. All the islands save a few rocks, the peninsulas of Hull and Winthrop Head, indeed that of Boston proper, would disappear; with them would go about all of Cambridge, Charlestown, Chelsea, Everett, Revere, a large part of Malden, Brighton,

Brookline, and Quincy. Charles River, Mystic River, and Neponset River would become broad estuaries, running far up into the land.

The history of the making of these drift-beds is hard to decipher, and harder still to describe in a brief way. The following statement is only designed to give a very general outline of the events in this remarkable history.

Retreat of the Glaciers—After the ice had lain for an unknown period over this region, climatal changes caused it to shrink away slowly and by stages, until it disappeared altogether. As it disappeared, it left a very deep mass of waste, which was distributed in an irregular way over the surface, at some places much deeper than at others. At many points this depth exceeded one hundred feet. As the surface of the land lay over one hundred feet below the present level in the district of Massachusetts Bay when the sea began to leave the shore, the sea had free access to this incoherent mass of debris, and began rapidly to wash it away. We can still see a part of this work of destruction of the glacial beds in the marine erosion going on about the islands and headlands in the harbor and bay. The same sort of work went on about the glacial beds, at the height of one hundred feet or more above the present tideline. During this period of reëlevation, the greater part of the drift-deposits of the region about Boston was worked over by the water. Where the gravel happened to lie upon a ridge of rock that formed, as it were, a pedestal for it, it generally remained as an island above the surface of the water. As the land seems to have risen pretty rapidly when the ice-burden was taken off,—probably on account of this very relief from its load,—the sea did not have time to sweep away the whole of these islands of glacial waste. Many of them survive in the form of low, symmetrical bow-shaped hills. Parker's Hill, Corey's Hill, Aspinwall, and the other hills on the south side of Charles River, Powderhorn and other hills in Chelsea and Winthrop, are conspicuously beautiful specimens of this structure. Of this nature were also the three hills that occupied the peninsula of Boston, known as Sentry or Beacon, Fort and Copp's hills. Whenever an open cut is driven through these hills, we find in the center a solid mass of pebbles and clay, all confusedly intermingled, without any distinct trace of bedding. This mass, termed by geologists *till*, or boulder-clay, is the waste of the glacier, lying just where it dropped when the ice in which it was bedded ceased to move, and melted on the ground where it lay. All around these hills, with their central mass of till, there are sheets of sand, clay, and gravel, which have been washed from the original mass, and worked over by the tides and rivers. This reworked boulder-clay constitutes by far the larger part of the dry lowland surface about Boston; all the flatlands above the level of the swamps which lay

about the base of the three principal hills of old Boston—lands on which the town first grew—were composed of the bedded sands and gravels derived from the waste of the old boulder-clay. These terraces of sand and gravel from the reassorted boulder-clay, make by far the greater part of the low-lying arable lands of Eastern Massachusetts; and of this nature are about all the lands first used for town sites and tillage by the colonists,—notwithstanding the soil they afford is not as rich nor as enduring as the soils upon the unchanged boulder-clay. The reason these terrace deposits were the most sought for town sites and cultivation is that they were the only tracts of land above the level of the swamps that were free from large boulders. Over all the unchanged drift, these large boulders were originally so abundant that it was a very laborious work to clear the land for cultivation; but on these terraces of stratified drift there were never boulders enough to render them difficult of cultivation. The result was that the first colonists sought this class of lands. One of the advantages of the neighborhood of Boston was the large area of these terrace deposits found there. There was an area of fifteen or twenty thousand acres within seven or eight miles of the town, that could have been quickly brought under the plough, and which was very extensively cultivated before the boulder-covered hills began to be tilled.

After the terrace-making period had passed away, owing to the rising of the land above the sea, there came a second advance of the glaciers, which had clung to the higher hills, and had not passed entirely away from the land. This second advance did not cover the land with ice; it only caused local glaciers to pour down the valleys. The Neponset, the Charles, and the Mystic valleys were filled by these river-like streams, which seem never to have attained as far seaward as the peninsula of Boston. This second advance of the ice seems to have been very temporary in its action, not having endured long enough to bring about any great changes. At about the time of its retreat, the last considerable change of line along these shores seems to have taken place. This movement was a subsidence of the land twenty feet or more below the former high-tide mark. This is shown by the remains of buried roots of trees, standing as they grew in the harbor and coastlands about Boston. These have been found at two points on the shore of Cambridge, a little north of the west end of West Boston Bridge, and in Lynn Harbor. Since this last sinking the shoreline in this district shows no clear inclination of change.

Recent Geological Conditions—With the cessation of the disturbances of the glacial period and at the beginning of the present geological conditions, the last of the constructive changes of this coast began. Hitherto mechanical forces alone had done their work on the geography of the

region; henceforward, to the present day, organic life, driven away from the shore and land by the glacial period, again takes a share in the constructive work. This is still going on about us. The larger part of it is done by the littoral seaweeds and the swamp grasses. Along the estuaries of the Saugus, Mystic, Charles, and Neponset rivers there are some thousands of acres of lands which have been recovered from the sea by these plants. The operation is in general as follows: The mud brought down by these streams, consisting in part of clay and in part of decomposed vegetable matter, derived from land and water plants, coats the sandy bottoms or under-water terraces. In this mud, even at considerable depths, eelgrass and some seaweeds take root, and their stems make a dense jungle. In this grass more mud is gathered, and kept from the scouring action of the tide by being bound together by the roots and cemented by the organic matter. This mass slowly rises until it is bare at low tide. Then our marsh-grasses creep in, and in their interlaced foliage, the waste brought in by the tide is retained, and helps to raise the level of the swamp higher. The streams from land bring out a certain amount of mud, which at high tide is spread in a thin sheet over the surface of the low plain. Some devious channels are kept open by the strong scouring action of the tide, but the swamp rapidly gains a level but little lower than high tide. Except when there is some chance deposit of mud or sand from the bluffs along its edges, these swamps are never lifted above high tide mark, for the forces that build them work only below the level. Their effect upon the harbor of Boston has been disadvantageous. They have diminished the area of storage for the tide-water above the town, and thereby enfeebled the scouring power of the tidal currents. Except at the very highest tides, the Charles, Mystic, and Neponset rivers now pour their mud directly into the harbor, instead of unloading it upon the flats where these marshes have grown up. There are other forces at work to diminish the depth of water in the harbor. The score or more of islands that diversify its surface are all sources of waste, which the waves tend to scatter over the floor. For the first two hundred years after the settlement, the erosion of these islands was not prevented by seawalls; and in this time the channels were doubtless much shoaled by river-waste. Just after the glacial period these channels were very deep. Borings made in the investigations for the new sewerage system showed that the channel at the mouth of the Neponset had been over one hundred feet deeper than at present,—the filling being the rearranged glacial drift brought there by just such processes as have recently shoaled the channels of the harbor.

The depth of this port has also been affected by the drifting in of sands along the shore contiguous to the northeast and southeast. When

the sea surges along these shores, it drives a great deal of waste towards the harbor. A fortunate combination of geographical accidents has served to keep the harbor from utter destruction from this action. On the north side, whence comes the greater part of this drifting material, several pocket-like beaches have been formed, which catch the moving sands and pebbles in their pouches, and stop their further movement. But for these protections—at Marblehead Neck, Lynn, and Chelsea on the north, and Nantasket on the south—the inner harbor would hardly exist, since these lodgments contain enough waste to close it entirely. At Nantasket the beach is now full and no longer detains the accumulating sands, which are overflowing into the outer harbor; yet, as the rate of flow is soft, its effect is not likely to be immediately hurtful.

From Professor Shaler's account of the geology back of the building of the "Basin" occupied by the original town of Boston, and of the varied and beautiful country which borders this center, let us turn our attention to the peninsula and what man has made of it. The general shape of this chosen spot has been described by the older writers as "almost square" and as "heart-shaped; its area as less than eight hundred acres." The hills were the dominant features of the landscape as viewed from afar, although no longer as prominent as they were. They have, for the most part, been swallowed up by the coves and the "oozy sea margins," marshes and swamps, for the needs of the residents of the continuously expanding city required the removal of the heights and the casting of them into the low lands that men might have sufficient room to build their places of business and their homes. Sanitation, docks for an increasing shipping, were necessities, and that most modern development, aviation, all have had a part in the changes made in the original natural setting of Boston.

The Hills of the Peninsula—The most conspicuous of the original hills was the triple-topped one which gave a name to the peninsula, Trimount, or Tre-mount, for it was not only the loftiest but of such a peculiar formation as to render it very noticeable. The tri-mounts, as viewed from the west, suggested the head and shoulders of a giant, the shoulders being hunched like those of an old, old man. Several titles were given to this hill before it became known by its present name, Beacon Hill. Very early after the Winthrop band came over from Charlestown to found the village, when it was thought wise by the Indian-fearing settlers to establish a watch, the eminence was chosen as the fitting place and hence became Sentry Hill. In 1635 a beacon was erected upon the summit, so that its light might warn the surrounding country of approaching danger, and from this came the present well known title. The easternmost of the triple summits was called Cotton Hill, because upon its slope John Cot-



JOHN WINTHROP, SECOND GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

ton established his home and farm; later this name was changed to Pemberton, which is somewhat to be regretted. The west peak, one side of which had been chosen by Blackstone for his abiding place, might well have been named in his honor, but it has borne the various title of West Hill, Copley's Hill, Mount Vernon, and others all but forgotten. The West Hill, for the most part, lies in the river bed of the Charles and is covered with the buildings of an important part of Boston. Beacon Hill once soared to a height of 138 feet above the sea, or about the height of the lantern on the top of the State House, which rests upon the depleted summit.

Copp's Hill, not so high as Beacon, the king of them all, was named for the worthy shoemaker who once owned much of it. It was the site of the first windmill in Massachusetts, although the mill was brought here after first having been erected in Watertown. Its removal to Boston was due to the lack of steady winds at its original home. This hill was variously known as Wind-mill Hill, Snow Hill, before given its present title. The Puritans were exceedingly direct, and rather unimaginative in the nomenclature used to mark the important places which they found and used. The hill first seen by the voyager, since its position in the foreground all but hid Beacon, was called Corn Hill, since it was one of the first places planted by the colonists. In 1632 a small fortification was built upon it and, of course, thereafter it was Fort Hill. If one wanders much in the lower part of the Metropolis, one will come across a flat little park, only a few feet above the level of the harbor. A tablet will tell him that this is all that is left of the eighty-foot hill whose fortified heights once protected Boston from invasion from the sea. It, like a number of other small elevations, has fallen a prey to the maw of progress and long since been flung into a marsh, there to serve a more useful purpose.

Topographically, the coves of the original peninsula are of almost equal interest to those of the hills. Had the settlement of Boston been delayed a century, there would have been far less land on which to build and, instead of an irregular bit of land connected by a thin thread to the mainland, Shawmut would then have been very different in its topographical aspect. Even as early as 1630, the sea and river were cutting their way between Copp's Hill and Beacon Hill in the process of carving an island from the peninsula; and for years after the coming of Winthrop, in time of storm, the narrow thread known as the "neck" would be cut through by the sea.

"The Neck"—All of Boston proper was, at one time, known as "The Neck" in distinction from South Boston, Brookline and the other territory within the jurisdiction of the town. But the term was usually confined to the narrow isthmus which held the peninsula to the mainland.

"The Neck may be said to have begun at Beach Street, where was its greatest breadth, diminishing to its narrowest point at Dover Street, increasing gradually in width to the neighborhood of Dedham Street, thence expanding in greater proportion to the line at the present car stables nearly opposite Arnold Street. The Neck according to its designation in Revolutionary times, was that part lying south of Dover Street" (Drake). As described by Captain Nathaniel Uring, in 1710, "The Neck of Land betwixt the city and the country is about forty yards wide, and so low that the spring tides sometimes wash the road, which might, with a little charge, be made so strong as not to be forced, there being no way of coming at it by land but over the Neck."

Both the prevention of the destruction of the neck, and the fortification of it as a protective measure, occupied the attention of the early fathers. In 1708, individuals were granted places all along the neck, conditioned on the erection of barriers to "secure and keep off the sea," and the maintenance of a road, since this was the only highway out of Boston. Dikes had been built along it, on the seaward side, long before the Revolution, with a seawall on the west. Except for these dikes and comparatively slight improvements of the roadway in the center, the neck was but little changed during half the history of Boston. One may get an impression of the appearance of this region, now so wide and so solidly a part of the mainland, if he will but stop and look at any of the wide roads now crossing the Lynn marshes, at the same time recalling, of course, the fact that there were no mechanical dredges in those days to make smooth and straight embankments, and that paved turnpikes are a modern invention. So dangerous was it to traverse the causeway with its adjacent marshes at night, the General Court of 1723 passed an act requiring the dangerous road to be fenced in for the "salvation" of the traveler. The neck was paved through it length, for the first time, less than a hundred years ago. Provisions were made for the protection of the neck, and Boston, the next year after the town was founded. An officer with six men was stationed at its narrow part, and a few years later a barrier with a central gate was built across it.

The filling of the territory on both sides of the neck is but a part of the larger works which have altered the Shawmut Peninsula beyond all recognition. The fabled Danish king failed in his attempt to sweep back the ocean, but when Boston determined not only to stop the Atlantic from gnawing away any more of its area, but to thrust the waters farther back from its shores, it succeeded beyond human expectation. The "heart-shaped" piece of land on which the Puritans settled has long since lost itself in the more regular and very much more extensive borders of modern Boston. The hills on which a beacon was established, or a mill

was erected, or a fort built, have either disappeared or their outlines greatly modified. The coves that were the first landing places, and along whose shores the early town was built, are no longer touched by the waters of the harbor. Even the memory of where they were is passing along with the knowledge of the landmarks of the olden times.

The Ancient Shore Line—As nearly as the original shore line can be traced from ancient maps, it is as follows: Beginning at Boston Neck, where Dover Street now crosses Washington, the shore line ran between Washington Street and Harrison Avenue, finally touching Washington where it now crosses Kneeland, and then swinging to the east, crossed Beach at Harrison Avenue. The bay washed the Beach Street end of Oxford, Edinboro, Kingston, Lincoln and South streets, and covered East Street to the corner of Atlantic Avenue. Turning northerly, the beach line followed Atlantic Avenue to the corner of Summer Street, and then ran easterly between Atlantic Avenue and Purchase Street, crossing Gridley and Pearl streets at Purchase Street, so that the site now occupied by the South Station was originally under water. Going east again, the line of the shore touched Atlantic Avenue at Oliver Street, and then followed Atlantic Avenue to Belcher Lane. The shore then went northwest along the line of Broad Street to Batterymarch Street and curved sharply to the south, crossing Oliver, Pearl, and Congress streets, and reaching Franklin at the corner of Federal Street. It then curved again sharply to the north, crossed Federal, Congress, and Milk streets, and touching Postoffice Square along Congress Street. The beach line swung across Water Street, where the Postoffice and the Shawmut National Bank buildings were erected, and, still curving to the east, reached the present line of Kilby Street, along which it then went northerly. The bay covered State, at the corner of Kilby, and thence the beach line followed Merchants' Row to Dock Square. "It is evident, therefore, that Oliver Street on one side and Kilby on the other, marked the beginning of a long, narrow indentation where the bay reached to Franklin and Federal streets. Orange Avenue, Dock Square, Elm and Blackstone streets, Salt Lane, North Centre Street and North Street were all washed by the Bay." Leaving the line of North Street at Ferry, the beach bent westerly, following Commercial Street to Charlestown Bridge and Washington Street north. Then the shore made a curve to the east almost touching Prince and Salem streets and reaching Blackstone and Union streets again at Haymarket Square. It then crossed Friend and Portland streets at Sudbury, and reached Bowker Street. Here the bay went westward to Lyman Street, covering Merrimac and South Margin streets, and thence along the line of Wall Street, crossing Minot, Willard, and Barton streets to Leverett. This sweep from Charlestown Bridge

to Barton Street made the North Cove, also known as Mill Pond. Brighton Street marked another curve of the bay line, which turned here to the southeast, covering most of the land on which the Massachusetts General Hospital now stands. It crossed Cambridge Street at the corner of Anderson, then, bearing west again, touched Charles Street. Turning east, it crossed Branch Street and reached the Boston Common, covering the southwesterly part of the common and all of Charles Street to Park Square and all of the present public gardens. From Park Square the shore line curved to the east between Pleasant and Church streets, crossed Shawmut Avenue at Osborn Place, touched the neck again at Cherry and Washington streets, and followed closely the line at Washington Street to Dover.

The present ample area of Boston proper is the result of filling in the cove, inlets and marshes found in the original crooked shore line. This work was begun at a very early date, as far as the endeavors of individuals are concerned, by those who desired to extend the boundaries of their lands, and could do so by moving some of the higher land to the marshy shore. There was little done in an organized way by anyone for more than three-quarters of a century after the first settlement. In 1709, permission was given Oliver Noyes and others to build a wharf from Andrew Faneuil's Corner to the low water mark. As completed, the pier was the width of Market or Water Street, now State Street, and was an extension of that thoroughfare. Of the larger coves, Mill Cove, which first had a causeway constructed across it, was filled in behind the causeway from 1804 to 1829. East Cove on both sides of the famous "Long Wharf" was filled from 1825 to 1874; the South Cove fill dates from 1806 to 1845, and the Back Bay District was made during a period extending from 1857 to 1894.

The Reclamation of Back Bay—All the reclamation projects which gave Boston the larger part of its land area are worthy of extended notice, but it is the Back Bay fill, more than any other, which stands out in the history of the city, and which attracted the attention of a larger audience than that of the "Hub." Then, too, its story extends over a long period, it has more of romance about it, and the section was the largest ever added to Boston proper. The public improvement was one of the best paying things the city ever engaged in; the reclaimed lots sold for three times all the cost of the improvement. The Back Bay Section, where it was once believed no one would build, is one of the most beautiful residential districts in this country. It is somewhat difficult to realize that these miles of paved avenues and luxurious dwelling houses are now where once there were stinking tidal flats and waters, a region

condemned as a nuisance. "It is still more difficult to realize," says Howe, "that only a year or two before 1860, the western boundary of the Public Garden was a brown picket fence, with a muddy beach at its foot."

All this remarkable and valuable change was not brought about easily or without opposition. When Uriah Cotting organized, in 1814, the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation and secured a charter giving the company certain rights in the Back Bay, he was not thinking of a place to fill in and sell for lots, but of a mill dam which could hold, and open the way for use of, the nine-foot tide with which the harbor was blessed. Back Bay was but "an expanse of water and marsh that extended from the foot of the Common to the uplands of Brookline, and from the Charles River to Boston's only connection with the mainland by Boston Neck and Roxbury." The corporation was given the right to build two dams, one from the end of Beacon Street at Charles, to Sewall's Point at Brookline, and a cross dam from the main one to Roxbury. These dams were to carry on their crests a turnpike, the toll collected on which was expected to pay some of the costs of construction. In 1821 the Mill-Dam Road, or Western Avenue as it was soon named, was opened for traffic, the event being an occasion for much congratulation, since Boston now had two turnpike connections with the mainland.

The original purpose of the Mill Corporation was to sell water power. The dams were to create a flood basin, while a cut was to be made through the neck about where the Dover Street Bridge now is, and tidal mills erected. It was found that the corporation had enough on its hands to care for the roadways it had built, and the Dover Street idea was never carried out. The corporation was divided; one section, known as the Boston Water Power Company, was chartered to purchase the water power, while the original corporation managed the roads. In 1832 the Boston company took over all the water power and the lands south of the main dam, the mill corporation retained the roads and the property north of the dam. The conflicting interests of the two companies, the city and abutting private land owners, led to the first of the long series of controversies which had to be adjusted before the completion of the Back Bay fill. Before long the railroads were drawn into the difficulties, and later the State. The Providence and Worcester Railroad companies, incorporated in 1831, ran their rails diagonally across both the receiving basins made by the dams, thereby causing a depreciation of the Boston Water Power Company's stock of fifty per cent. It did what was far worse, for the embankments constructed for the railroad further impaired the flowage of the Back Bay waters, until the section became, as reported to the city council in 1849, "nothing less than a great cesspool."

The Commonwealth Takes Control—Without going into intricate details, the question of sanitation, and the larger one of finding room for Boston's growing population, was solved by the Commonwealth. Under an ancient right, claim was made by the State to all the lands formerly in marsh or covered by water, below the lines of private rights. The city opposed this claim and "pursued a general policy of obstruction." The affair dragged along for years after it was realized that the Back Bay could not be left in its filthy condition without serious detriment to the city. Adjustments were made, or forced, and in 1858 the actual work of filling had been begun. It was not until the so-called Tripartite agreement of 1864, that the work could be carried on to a speedy conclusion.

In January of 1857, the commissioners who had been appointed to represent the State in the Back Bay matter, reported that the way was practically cleared to begin work. The report made at this time is the best exposition of the whole affair up to that time (1857) that is now extant. Barely enough to show what was the commission's appreciation of the need of what it proposed will be repeated here: "The territory in question (Back Bay) is now a useless and unsightly waste. There is, at the same time, a palpable lack of room for dwelling houses in and near the city of Boston. Stores are usurping the streets formerly occupied by mansions, rents are enormously high, and it is becoming a serious problem where the people whose business draws them to the metropolis of New England and the capital of the State shall be accommodated. The Commonwealth's lands in the Back Bay are situated in precisely the most eligible location for dwelling houses. The conversion of a waste of water into a magnificent system of streets and squares, with dwelling houses for a numerous population, is a transformation dictated by the soundest statesmanship and the wisest political economy."

Some Objections Made to the Filling of Back Bay—Some of the notions held by those opposing the improvement seem very foolish to those of today,—probably just as foolish as some of the objections raised against any progressive movement of today will seem to future generations. It was not expected that more than a dozen houses would be built in the area in twenty years. A newspaper article suggested that large amounts of the land would remain unsold for fifty years, or by 1910. It was thought that there were not enough in the whole of Boston prepared to build "first-class houses." Objections were raised to the creation of such a wide flat area since it would be too hot for comfort during the summer when the winds could not penetrate its depths. One of the schemes of the day was to have a long basin where Commonwealth Avenue was built. The State proved to be good realtors, making three mil-

lion dollars out of the transaction, and added about five hundred and seventy acres to the city. This is, however, only about a fifth of the total of the filled lands in Boston. Other projects have been larger, and the work now being carried on at East Boston will, when completed, give the city the largest acreage of made land ever reclaimed from sea and marsh.

Boston's Growth by Annexation—Coincident with the expansion of the Boston Peninsula by filling in the flats, and other radical changes of topography, was the growth of the city by the absorption of the adjoining municipalities. The annexations of fully developed towns were confined, for the greater part, to the period after the establishment of a city government in Boston in 1822. But it must not be forgotten that in very early times Boston reached out for the outlying territory and held jurisdiction over a very wide area. In colonial times this control held over some seventy thousand acres, or more than twice that contained within the present large limits of the city. To the town was granted, in 1641, the "Muddy River" section, now the noted town of Brookline, for under this title was Muddy River set off in 1705. This territory had been annexed by the pioneers of Boston for its fine farm lands. Residents of the city built summer farm houses in the region; these often partaking of the nature of elaborate suburban estates. For years no better name was given it than "Muddy Creek Hamlet" or "Boston Commons."

In 1634, as the ancient record has it, "Boston shall have convenient enlargement at Mount Wooliston"; later in the same year Wynetsemit (Winnisimmet) was "ordered to belong to Boston." On September 25, 1634 (Old Style), Mount Wollaston and Rumney Marsh were annexed. In 1635, Dear, Hog, Long, and Spectacle islands were granted to Boston; Noddle's Island being annexed two years later. Mount Wooliston is now a part of Quincy; Winnisimmet has become Chelsea; Rumney Marsh is the present Revere; Pullen's Point has become Winthrop; and Noddle's Island is at present better known as East Boston. Noddle's Island was granted, in 1633, to Samuel Maverick, who was then living on it in his fortified home, and is usually to be found in the old records as Maverick's Island. This bit of territory is about the only land which remained permanently attached to Boston, but was practically undeveloped until well within the last century.

Among the other areas once a part of Boston, but no longer within the fold, might be mentioned the one thousand acres, which in 1660, was set off for a school in the "wilderness" north of the Merrimac River, incorporated in Haverill in 1664; three townships six miles square, or sixty-nine acres in all, 1735, in abatement of the province tax (these townships later became the towns of Charlemont, Colerain, and Pittsfield, Boston selling its interest in them in 1736); a township of land in

Maine, containing twenty-three thousand and forty acres, was granted in 1794, to build a public hospital, and was sold by the city in 1833, for \$4,200. Muddy River was set off as Brookline, November 13, 1705; Rumney Marsh, as the town of Chelsea, January 8, 1739; Mount Wollaston, as the town of Braintree, May 13, 1640. This data has been given at length, that it might be made clear that Boston was once an even larger place, considering only the area then under its jurisdiction, than it will be if the movement now gathering impetus brings about a consolidation of the adjoining towns into a real Greater Boston.

For two paragraphs the attention has been upon expansion in what might better be called the "reverse," since they contain the history of the growth of a former period which failed to hold. The exception noted was Noddle's, or Maverick's, Island with which little was done for two centuries, but which under a land boom starting in 1833 led to its rapid and permanent development. The whole island was bought for only eighty thousand dollars and consisted of six hundred and sixty-six acres of land and several hundred acres of marshes. It became the terminus of the Eastern Railroad in 1837; docks were built there for the new Cunard Steamship Line in 1840; and in 1851, the Grand Junction Railroad was opened. A large hotel had been erected in 1836, several important manufacturing concerns established plants, notably the East Boston Sugar Refinery, ship building followed the coming of the Cunard service, and a hundred and seventy vessels were launched within a decade (1848-1859). This latter industry has been displaced by other manufactories, but docks for the convenience of shipping have multiplied. In the multiplication of wharves, and the increase of trackage for marine railways, the acres of marshes have been filled and used until now the area of East Boston is more than nineteen hundred acres, with additions being made annually.

Dorchester Added—When, on March 6, 1804, the part of Dorchester known as Dorchester Neck or South Boston was annexed to Boston, it was the first permanent taking of territory from a neighboring town. This came about as the result of a land speculation, much like that of East Boston. The difference lay in the fact that land was bought up by Metropolitan capitalists and pressure was brought to bear to separate it from Dorchester and join it to the city of Boston. There was great opposition, but the enabling act went through in 1804. Dorchester Neck was separated from the town by a cove over which the only passage was by ferry. The first Dover Street Bridge was opened in 1805, and this and the annexation led to a rapid rise in the value of the five hundred and seventy acres that comprised the village. The actual sales of property were few, however, and not until other bridges were built twenty years

and more later did the development of the section take on any great speed. By 1830 the population of South Boston had risen to twenty-eight hundred. In 1825 the city began the establishment of its reformatory institutions, which brought many who were busy with the erection of the buildings required. Here, as in East Boston, a fine hotel, the Mount Washington, was erected and became the center of a summer resort. This later passed to the Perkins Institute and Massachusetts School for the Blind. Foundries, iron works, machine companies, cordage manufactories, sugar refineries, all gradually located their plants in the area, and again the need of more land led to the filling of the low places. "With the filling of the flats, which was begun early and pursued at intervals through a long course of years, the area of the district by 1900 had been increased to two thousand and seventeen acres, the growth that caused the establishment of the terminal piers of the New York and New England Railroad before the latter's absorption by the New York, New Haven and Hartford System, and foreign steamship docks, enlarged the importance of South Boston; while the subsequent erection of the great Commonwealth Pier rendered it the chiefest terminal of the port of Boston."

Summary of the Growth of Boston—In 1822, Boston became an incorporated city, the act being accepted by the town on March 4, 1822. The first of the new city's enlargements by annexation took in Washington Village, a part of Dorchester. This was in 1855, the remaining part of Dorchester being absorbed in 1870. Roxbury was annexed, January 5, 1868; Charlestown, Brighton and West Roxbury became parts of the city by the one act of January 5, 1874; and on May 24, 1911, Hyde Park was annexed by an act accepted by both city and village. These annexations, which added 24,312 acres to the original land of Boston were, by area as follows: East Boston, 1,435; South Boston, 795; Roxbury, 2,450; Dorchester, 5,600; West Roxbury, 8,075; Brighton, 2,664; Charlestown, 424; Hyde Park, 2,869. Filled land increased the area later by 1,396 acres. As has been pointed out, these expansions of the territory of Boston were coincident with the filling in of great coves and the reclamation of the marshes which surrounded the peninsula. The rugged little piece of land on which the Puritans set up their homes has been enlarged from its original 783 acres by fills totaling 2,944 acres. In 1927, the whole area of Boston is given as 30,598 acres (947.81 square miles), 2,944 acres being filled land, 1,143 acres water area, and 1,436 acres of flats. The net land area is, therefore, 28,019 acres (43.78 square miles). Included in the latter are 160 acres of filled land recently added to the land area of South Boston, and 175 acres to that of East Boston.

City Dimensions—The form of Boston has undergone as radical changes as its area. Where the peninsula was the widest part of the city, is now one of its narrowest sections; and the narrow "Necke," hardly wide enough to allow the building of a road, is one of the widest districts. The greatest length of the present Boston is 13.8 miles, from the northern end of East Boston to the southern end of Hyde Park. The greatest width, 7.75 miles, is from Marine Park shore to the western end of Brighton. The median transverse width, 5.75 miles, is from the Charles River at Harvard Bridge to the Neponset River at Blue Hill Avenue. The width of the business center is only 1.2 miles, *i. e.*, from the Charles River at Cambridge Bridge to the Fort Point Channel at Summer Street, forming one of the most compact business districts in the United States. The geographical center of Boston lies in Roxbury, at the corner of Walnut and Westminster Avenues. The population of Boston, according to the census of 1925, was 779,620.

"Greater Boston"—Boston suffers in area and population and business comparisons with other cities because the name stands for but a small part of an area which is geographically, topographically, commercially, industrially, and almost every other way except politically, Boston—The Greater Boston, or the Metropolitan District. The real Boston extends far beyond the municipal boundaries. Other places have increased their size and loom large in all sorts of statistics given out by themselves or the National Government, by taking in vast sections that are little more than the sleeping quarters of the inhabitants of the natural center. What is called the Metropolitan Area of Boston is something more than the bedroom district of the city. It is inherently a connected part of the commerce, business and industries of the city. The forty towns and cities which now make up the district have their economic interest bound inextricably with the banking, railroad and port facilities of the center; it is an economic unit, "the natural centre for the manufacturing and trading interests of New England, one of the richest industrial regions of the world. There is no break in the widening circle of stores, warehouses, and factories which are thickly spread over the whole area of Metropolitan Boston District."

Metropolitan Districts' Commissions—The interests of many of the forty municipalities already are associated with many developments of which no one of them was capable of handling by itself. In 1893, thirty-eight cities and towns formed a Metropolitan Park District, covering about 390 square miles, in which at an initial cost of more than \$27,000,000, and an annual maintenance expense of over \$2,000,000, some 11,000 acres of reservation and parkways, and 75 miles of boulevards are cared

for. Previous to this, 1889, the Metropolitan Sewerage District was organized with thirteen cities and eleven towns, covering an area of 200 square miles. In 1895 the Metropolitan Water District was formed, including seven cities and six towns. The water works now serves twenty municipalities, and has cost since its inception, \$50,000,000. The Charles River Basin District was established in 1903, and includes thirty-eight municipalities. The Fire Prevention District was the fifth of the inter-related organizations of "Greater Boston," being made up of twenty-six towns and cities. If there comes a time when these forty municipalities decide to throw their lot in with the present metropolis of the region, Boston, instead of rating seventh in population and ninth in area, would rank first in point of land covered (409.5 square miles), and fourth, possibly third, in population, the figures for Greater Boston being 1,808,845 in 1925. What is of far more importance is that Boston would receive the recognition at large of which she is worthy.

Altitudes in the Metropolis—The possibilities of a Greater Boston is something which concerns the future. While statistics are being grouped here, two may be added which have to do with the natural setting of the city, which might have been given earlier in the chapter. One has to do with altitudes in the Hub; the other with its weather. Boston statistics is the authority for the statements that the highest point in Boston is the peak of the custom house tower, that landmark seen by the approaching traveler by sea or land, which is given as exactly 510.71 feet above mean low water, or 495 feet above the surface of the street. Bunker Hill Monument is 307.84 feet above sea level, the top of Breed's Hill, upon which it rests, having a height of 86.44 feet. Bellevue Hill, West Roxbury, is the highest natural point in the city, about 320 feet; the top of the new reservoir is 376.3 feet above the water level mentioned, which is often spoken of as the "City Base." Slocum Hill, near Allandale Street, Jamaica Plain, is about 300 feet; the High Fort Observatory, Highland Park, Roxbury, 291, the hill upon which it rests being 158 feet high. Telegraph Hill, South Boston, is 145 feet high, the Revolution Memorial upon it increasing this height to 270. There is a hill between Poplar and Dale streets, near Hyde Park, which has been measured as 258; Peters' Hill, in the Arnold Arboretum, is 237 feet; Fairmount Hill, Hyde Park, is about 220 feet; and famous Beacon Hill is now only 107.89 feet high, although it once rose as high as the base of the State House dome. The top of the State House dome is 261 feet above the "City Base."

Boston Weather—The much discussed Boston weather may be summed up in cold figures based on a fifty year average: Annual temperature 49.5°, January temperature 27.1°, July temperature 72.0°; annual precipi-

tation 41.5 inches. For those who feel that the climate of the city is one of its principal resources, who insist that it plays an important role in making the metropolis and its citizens great, the following table is given:

BOSTON'S WEATHER RECORD.													
(Based on Observations Ranging from 20 to 50 Years).													
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
Temperature:													
Monthly Mean	27.9	28.8	35.6	46.4	57.1	66.5	71.7	69.9	63.2	53.6	42.0	32.5	49.6
Daily Mean Maximum...	35.9	36.7	43.3	54.5	65.7	75.7	80.0	77.8	71.2	61.5	49.3	39.9	57.6
Daily Mean Minimum...	20.0	20.8	27.9	38.3	48.5	57.8	63.4	62.0	55.3	45.7	34.7	25.1	41.6
Highest on Record.....	70	64	83	87	97	98	104	98	102	90	76	69	104
Lowest on Record.....	-13	-11	-8	11	31	42	46	47	34	25	-2	-14	-14
Precipitation:													
Total, Inches	3.82	3.44	4.08	3.55	3.51	3.03	3.36	4.03	3.19	3.86	4.10	3.41	43.38
Days With 0.01 Inch or More	12	10	12	11	11	10	10	10	9	9	10	11	125
Total Snowfall, Inches...	11.2	12.5	7.9	2.5	*	0	0	0	0	*	1.7	8.4	44.2
Percentage of Possible Sunshine	49	58	57	55	59	63	64	63	62	56	48	48	57
Number of Clear Days....	9	10	10	9	9	9	9	11	11	11	10	9	117
Hourly Wind Velocity, Miles	11.6	12.3	12.4	11.2	10.1	9.3	8.9	8.4	9.2	10.2	11.2	11.4	10.5

*Trace.

If one wishes more statistics on the weather, here are some which have to do with the year 1925, as given out by the weather bureau. During the year the precipitation was below the normal, amounting to 41.15 inches. The snowfall was also below normal, being only 21 inches, as against the average of 44.2. The maximum monthly precipitation was in March 5.21 inches, and nearly as much water fell in December, or 5.20 inches, the total of these two months being 23.3 per cent. of the year's rainfall; the maximum rainfall in twenty-four consecutive hours, 1.74 inches on December 3-4; thunder storms came on twenty-two days, six of these in July and August; snow on thirty-four days, twenty-two being in January, February and March.

Number of clear days, 130; cloudy days, 100; partly cloudy, 135; days showing precipitation, 114; highest temperature, 100 degrees (June 6); lowest, 0 degrees (January 23); mean for the winter months, 35 degrees; for the summer months, 71.5; number of days with a temperature of 90 degrees or over, 12; freezing or lower, 100 days; greatest monthly range of temperature, 61 degrees in March; least monthly range, 41 degrees in May and July. Sunshine, per cent. for the month, highest in August, 69 per cent.; lowest in October, 42 per cent.; mean for the year, 58 per cent. Wind, highest velocity, 46 miles per hour (February 26) from the west; average hourly velocity, 10.1; prevailing direction of the winds in the summer months, southwest; in the winter months, west; gales (*i. e.*, 40 miles or over per hour) on 7 days, mostly in March and October. Humidity, highest per cent., for the month of September (74 per cent.); lowest, January (62 per cent.); mean for the year, 68.5 per cent.

Again the Harbor—As we entered this chapter by way of the harbor, as did the Puritans who founded Boston, so we will leave it, but now by

the way of statistics. Our forefathers would no longer recognize either the harbor or the peninsula upon which they settled. The hills are gone or partly dismantled; there is no peninsula, and the port has been transformed. The harbor has been reduced in size, but there still remain some 30,000 acres of its area. The water front is less, but makes up the rather large total of 141 linear miles; there is a berthing space of 40 miles, more than 8 miles of which fronts on a depth of 30 feet or more at mean low water. The Puritans and the folk who followed them into the harbor for the next few generations, were fortunate in having vessels drawing but little water, but even so the difficulties of bringing them safely to berth were many. There is now practically no limit to the size of the ships which can be accommodated. There is a mile of berthing space available at the Army Supply Base in South Boston; the railroad terminals in East Boston add their quota. The Commonwealth Pier, erected by the State, at a cost of \$4,500,000, is one of the finest of its kind in the world; it is 1,200 feet long and 400 wide, providing docking room for five ocean-going steamers at once, and warehouses have floors covering 900,000 square feet. The dry dock at South Boston is the only one in this country large enough to accommodate the largest vessels now afloat—the massive “Leviathan” when in need of repairs must come to this great dry dock. One might go on and write of the Navy Yard at Charlestown, the Fish Pier, the changes going on among the islands. But the subject of aviation is taking so much of the attention of the present (1927) that mention must be made of the Boston Airport. It will be described at length later in this work; it is sufficient here to point out that the airport is the most recent change made in the lands bordering the harbor, and is the pride and hope of the forward-looking Bostonian. It was the first to be created by any American municipality, and is situated better in relation to the business section of the metropolis than is true of any other city. This summer has witnessed the flights across the Atlantic of Lindbergh, Chamberlain and Bird, with others following in the reverse direction. These flights mean much to aviation and have spurred the people of Boston to a new interest in their landing field. What would catch the attention of Governor Winthrop, could he return, and which holds the mind of the residents of Boston, is the flight of the mail planes every afternoon as they wend their way in and out of the harbor. Three hundred years, or nearly that number, have wrought marvelous changes in the Boston of the Puritans.



CHAPTER II.

REVIEW OF EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY.

Motives Back of the Settlement of New England—It is seldom that personal acts are prompted by single motives; when a group of individuals try to do some one thing, the motives actuating it are certain to be many. The considerations that inspired the settlement of New England differed as radically as the classes concerned in it were dissimilar. Kings, merchants and religionists had a hand in the colonization of our State, but all were inspired by unlike purposes. The English King and his Parliament granted charters to large tracts of territory in New England, and settlers were encouraged to go and locate in the new land in order that the wealth and standing of Great Britain might be increased and the glory and the power of the King enhanced by the addition of colonies. If, at the same time, the State and its ruler could be rid of dangerous malcontents by the emigration of these elements, so much the better. The struggle between Charles I and the Puritans had assumed portentous proportions. The Puritans were feared by the higher authorities, and well they might be, for in Cromwellian times a few years later, they deprived England of a crowned head. There is little doubt that Charles was quite willing to help out of England those whose presence so threatened his peace and safety; the liberality of the charter given the Massachusetts Bay Company, and the ease with which that document was brought to this country is proof of this. He probably thought he had made a shrewd move, and one that would redound to the glory of himself and his kingdom when he made easy the colonization of the vast unsettled region of almost unknown America.

The Commercial Motive—The modern interpreters of history seem pledged to the use of the "commercial norm" in the measuring of the progress or evolution of nations. They believe, apparently, that all colonizing, all expansion, all wars are the results of commercialism, the craving for wealth. There are enough events in the history of the settlement of Massachusetts to give body to such a theory. The Gorges and Mason were not inspired by religion or the desire to glorify a king in seeking and gaining a grant to immense territory in this country, nor were their efforts at development motivated by altruism. One has but to scan the records of the "Council of New England," of which Ferdinand Gorges was president, to realize that the first attempt to settle the shore of the "Bay" was wholly commercial in intent. The favorable natural

features of Boston Bay and harbor were even then well known. The fisheries which had first centered in the neighborhood of Newfoundland had, by 1619, shifted to Massachusetts Bay. The council secured a monopoly of the fishing in this locality and tried to establish a village or so on the bay that they might the more completely control and exploit the bonanza which they felt was theirs by kingly grant. It was expected, also, that trade with the Indians and export of the vast timber supplies would prove important sources of wealth. That "The ill choice of a place for fishing, the ill carriage of the men at the settlements, and the ill sales of fish" as reported by John White, of Dorchester, proved the undoing of the Gorges colonizing scheme, shows the more clearly its commercial character.

The Massachusetts Bay Company, which succeeded to the effects of the Council of New England, was in a measure a business association, backed by wealthy men who were willing to make a small investment in a new country with the expectation of receiving large returns. It would not be fair to overlook the evident fact that mingled with the hope of profits was the desire to do good and advance the cause of religion. The Dorchester immigrants who, at South Boston, preceded Winthrop by a fortnight in the settlement of Boston, expected their place to become the principal town in New England. They based their expectation on its location in regard to the fisheries, and were frank in their commercialism.

The Religious Motive—The transition from a fishing and trading co-partnership to a development dominated by religious people and motives was both rapid and complete. To Reverend John White and his Dorchester followers must credit be given for the inception of the greater colonization of New England. The fulfillment came only when religious persecution had spurred on the Puritans to seek a place where they might be free from interference with their personal liberties, particularly those of worship. The great exodus was not occasioned by a desire to profit from the fisheries or by traffic with the Indians, neither was it made by those who sought the profits of a voyage or the pleasure of a visit to new lands. As expressed in the "Agreement at Cambridge" (1629), it was to "inhabit and continue," for "the God's glory and the Church's good." It was urged "as preparation for the voyage" that each should "dispose of his estate and affairs." The old was to be left behind and the new established. Although the founders of New England never used the term, they came to set up a Puritan Commonwealth, a theocracy with God as its head and the Scriptures as the statute-book. If they realized that they were founding a colony of the King of England whom they despised, they established one so loosely joined to the mother country as to be virtually independent. Holding such ideas, the Massa-

chusetts Bay Company was very careful to bring its charter with them, and to insure that its administration should be by those who dwelt within the settlement. New England became, in embryo, an independent religious state; the germ was in it of that freedom which eventually completely separated it from the Nation that fostered it.

This chapter has to do with a review of the early political history of Boston, and from necessity, in the beginning, at least, of New England. There can be little understanding of the evolution of a "small fishing village" into a metropolis and capital of a Commonwealth of the United States, unless the motives lying back of its early settlement are recalled and considered, for each had a profound effect in shaping the destinies of the colony, and all were unlike. The Kings of England cared only for the aggrandizement of their empire and the enhancement of their personal glory. The would-be pre-Winthrop exploiters of the Massachusetts Bay country were dominated by commercialism; and this same commercialism was by no means lacking in the later developments. The Puritan, the real founders of New England, were intent upon securing the freedom to do as they pleased, to set up a Christian Commonwealth. With such varied and opposed desires involved, with so many dissimilar classes striving to dominate the New World, it is but natural that the evolution of Boston and its government should be marked by many strange and exciting events. Nor is it surprising that New England gave to this country the political principles which incited it to revolution, and upon which were based a republican government.

Outlines of Early Colonization—Before entering upon the details of the early political history of Boston, it may be well to recall some of the history taught in every grammar school. Shortly after the discoveries of Columbus, Henry VII, then King of England, sent John Cabot, a Venetian living at Bristol, off to find a northwestern passage to India and China. Cabot failed, but seems to have been the first to discover the continent of North America (1497), taking it in the name of the King. Sebastian Cabot, son of John, in 1498, explored the coast of North America from Nova Scotia to Cape Hatteras, also taking possession of the land in the name of the King of England. Other English explorers made voyages of discovery, such as Sir Martin Frobisher (1576), John Davis, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Francis Drake, not to mention a score of others. As the result of these discoveries and explorations, especially of the Cabots, England laid claim to all the land from Florida to Labrador on the Atlantic, and westward to the Pacific. The Spanish, French and Dutch all had conflicting claims, but as we know, in 1664, the English took New Netherland from the Dutch and called it New York, and the

French and Indian War, which was so much a New England affair, drove the French out of America as a dominant force, the battle of Quebec settling the question. Spain retained the nominal control over the interior.

England and France were the only nations that were really successful colonizers. Spain made a brilliant beginning, but stopped there. There were three classes of English colonies established which differed in the motives behind their settlement, in the class of people who came, and mainly in the government control under which they existed. The three forms of Colonial government among the English colonies were known as Charter, the Proprietary, and the Royal or Provincial. Boston at different periods was under the first and last kinds; the proprietary, where the owner of a large tract was granted the power to rule over it, never had a place in New England. Massachusetts was fortunate in being granted a charter conferring the power of government upon the people, and as we shall see, had leaders wise enough to bring that charter with them to this country. These charters were somewhat similar to our present State Constitutions. Boston, under a second charter, lost the right to elect its own Governor, but the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island were retained without change as State Constitutions until 1818 and 1842, respectively.

New England Forms of Government—The form of Colonial government under which Boston thrived for more than sixty years gave the people many valuable rights; they elected their own Governor and the members of the legislative bodies. The King interfered but little and the colony resembled a small independent republic, our present National Government, with its executive officer and two houses, and the former bi-cameral government of Boston City being of the same type. The one principal exception to home rule as exemplified in the early Colonial government was the rule that no law could be passed contrary to the laws of England. In 1692, the King of England assumed the responsibility for selecting the governors of Massachusetts, ten of whom were named before all family relations were broken with England. There might have been little hardship for Massachusetts in the rôle of a provincial colony if it had not grown up through two generations who had practiced self-government. There had developed in New England a system of local control differing from the other colonies, known as the Town System. Almost from the first the Massachusetts Bay Company encouraged the laying out of the surface of the land into districts which came to be called towns. These were governed by a town-meeting held once a year, at which every male citizen was expected to be present to address the meeting if he chose and vote on all subjects that came up. It was pure democracy. It taught independence of thought and action;

it brought independence to America. It was the bold and uniform opposition of the New England town governments to the acts of Parliament which they considered unjust which aroused the other sections of this country to revolution.

Boston was organized as a town in 1630, and before many years had passed was the principal place in the colonies. For one hundred and ninety-two years the town government was retained. By 1821, Boston was the largest town in the United States, too large to be managed by direct methods. It had long passed the stage where a pure democracy should give way to a representative government. A town-meeting where all must come, and speak and vote, was an absurdity, an impossibility, in a place of 45,000 inhabitants. On May 1, 1822, Boston became a city with a municipal government changed as little as was possible, but with the voters' powers delegated. In 1909, under a new charter, the city stopped trying to manage its affairs as though it were a miniature State, and patterned its government after that of a business concern.

The Georges Patent—Passing from the general to the particular, the political history of Boston may be considered under the heads Colony, Province, Town, and City. Boston dates officially from September 17, 1630, with the passage by the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, sitting at Charlestown, of the order: "That Trimon-taine shalbe called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; & y^e towne vpon Charles Ryver, Watertown." The peninsula upon which Boston was founded was a part of the territory conveyed by the Council for New England to the Massachusetts Bay Company on March 19, 1627-28. If one cares to inquire further into the charters upon which the colony of Massachusetts was based, of which Boston was the center throughout all its existence, one must go back to April 20, 1606, to the first of the patents which opened the coast of America to legal settlement. On that date King James of England issued a charter or "letters patent" to all the land between thirty-four and forty-five degrees north latitude, extending into the interior for one hundred miles. The territory was called Virginia and was divided between two companies known as the Northern and Southern Virginia Companies. The dividing section between the two companies was a strip of land between the thirty-eighth and forty-first parallels; the proviso being, that the first of the organizations to establish permanent settlements on this strip should have the jurisdiction over it. It was also stipulated that no colony of one company should be founded within a hundred miles of the other. The King reserved the right to appoint a resident council in each division, while a council having its seat in England had supervision over both.

The Southern Company had the better of the first arrangement, but

the King, offended by some of the members of the Southern Company, issued a new patent to the Northern, which greatly extended its limits and powers. A charter given November 3, 1620, to the Northern Company of whom Ferdinand Gorges was head, established a council at Plymouth (England), to which was given the jurisdiction over the land ranging from the fortieth to the forty-eighth parallels and extending westward to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean). This patent broadened the territory from one hundred miles to an Atlantic coast line which, starting in south New Jersey, reached to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Ferdinand Gorges and his associates were empowered to "make laws, appoint governors and other officers" and generally to set up any type of government they saw fit.

The Pilgrim Settlement—The settlement of parts of this vast domain was attempted by several groups before it was done effectively by Winthrop and the Puritans at Boston. The Pilgrims differed from their successors, mainly in the fact that while, like the Puritans they desired to "purify" the English church, they did not stay in the church to do it, but were Seceders, Separatists, as a people stood alone. They left England as pilgrims, almost without friends, without legal protection, lacking a charter to the land upon which they made their homes. Their intended destination in the new land was somewhere in south New Jersey or Delaware, but the winds of God or chance brought them to Cape Cod and the earliest of the permanent settlements in New England was established. "It was left," says John Fiske, "for religious enthusiasm to achieve what commercial enterprise had failed to accomplish."

The Pilgrims soon realized that the patent from the South Virginia Company was of no value in their present location. By the "Mayflower," on its return trip, they sent for a patent from the holding organization. Fortunately, the Gorges associates were very free in the disposal of the vast domain which was theirs, and a patent was sent forthwith, issued on June 1, 1621, to John Pierce and his associates in trust for the Plymouth Colony. This parchment document is now preserved in the Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth, being the oldest State paper in New England.

Ferdinand Gorges, of the Northern Company, also patented to Robert Gorges, December 30, 1622, all the mainland "commonly known under the name of Messachusick on the "northeast side of the Bay called or known by the name of Messachusick, for ten miles towards the northeast and thirty English miles into the mainland through all the breadth aforesaid." Robert Gorges was made the Lieutenant-Governor of New England, and made a feeble but unsuccessful effort to settle his lands, and died within a few years. His estate, coming to his brother John, had that part of it leased to John Oldham and John Dorrill, a part of the

description reading, "All the lands within the Massachusetts Bay between the Charles River and the Abousett (Saugus) River, continuing in a straight line five miles up the Charles River into the mainland northwest from the said Bay; the three miles in length from the said mouth of the aforesaid river Abousett up into the main land upon a straight line southwest; and all the land in breadth and length between the aforesaid rivers. This area was the cause of much dissension since it covered a part of a later grant to the Massachusetts Bay Company. John Gorges also conveyed to one William Brereton, January 10, 1629, all the land in breadth lying on the east side of the Charles to the easterly part of the cape called Nahant, and all the lands in length extending twenty miles northeast into the main land northeast from the said Cape Nahant: etc." Some of the difficulties requiring solution by the Massachusetts Bay Company, under whose charter Boston was founded, will be mentioned later. For the present it is sufficient to note that the grants to Oldham and Dorrill were simply ignored in the new charter, while Brereton's charter was repudiated by the company, and Brereton was invited to join the organization and be given land.

Early Bay Settlements—When one recalls that in addition to the various charters, patents, grants and the like, there were claims to the bay in which the Puritans located their main settlement made by Holland and France; that the section was but little known by actual visitors of scientific or political standing, it will be realized that only by redistribution of the disputed territory could its legal status be established and a stable government set up by colonists. Of the latter there were but few outside of Plymouth before the Massachusetts Bay Company was formed. The most of the settlements were mere fishing villages. Weston was at Wessagusset (Weymouth) in 1622; those who located at Nantasket in 1623-24 had removed to Cape Ann the following year; Morton was at Merry Mount in 1625; Conant and others at Naumbeg (Salem) in 1626; and when Higginson came in 1629, he "spoke of those already settled at Cherton" or Charlestown. The fisheries were not making money as had been expected; Gorges had proven a failure as the Governor of the region; the Council for New England, which had in charge the whole territory and the commercial development of it were in despair. The time had come for a change.

The Massachusetts Bay Company—The change made was the granting of a royal charter to a newly-organized Massachusetts Bay Company, covering the area from three miles north of the Merrimack River to three miles south of the Charles River. This patent was issued to Sir John Ruswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John

Endicott and Simon Whitcomb and others. Roswell, Young and Southcote promptly sold their interests in the patent to John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who, with the other persons concerned formed the company of which Cradock was Governor. The King's sanction of this charter was signed and sealed March 4, 1629. Meanwhile, Endicott, the Acting Governor of the Massachusetts Colony until 1630, without waiting for the end of the formalities attending the grant, had sailed on June 20, 1628, and other emigrations were under way.

The government of the colonies set up by the Massachusetts Company was subordinate to a controlling body in England. On July 28, 1629, at a meeting held at the home of Thomas Goffe in London, Matthew Cradock read certain propositions having to do with the advancement of the "plantation," the principal and most revolutionary of which was that the government of it should be transferred to those who "inhabited it." It was realized what a bold measure this was to take, and time was taken for its secret consideration. This was going beyond mere colonization, if secured, for it involved the setting up of self-government, the establishment of virtual independence. On August 26, 1629, the famous "Agreement at Cambridge" was drawn up and signed by Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humphrey, Thomas Sharpe, Increase Nowell, John Winthrop, William Pinchon, Kellam Browne, and William Colbron. It was a solemn agreement "to pass the seas and inhabit New England," but the important feature was the proviso: "Provided always, that before the last of September next, *the whole government*, together with the patent of the said plantation, be first, by an order of Court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others who shall inhabit upon the said plantation." Two days later in the "General Court" of the company it was voted that the patent should be transferred to New England. On October 20, 1629, at "a Generall court holden in England at Mr. Goffe the Deputy's House," a further step was taken, when Governor Cradock announced to that body that a new Governor, deputy and assistants were to be elected and the "Government" no longer to remain in England. John Winthrop was chosen Governor and John Humphrey deputy; as assistants there were named Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Endicott, and fourteen others. The first court of assistants was held on the "Arbella," in Charlestown, August 23, 1630; the next meetings were at the Governor's house on September 7, and a third at the same place on September 28 of the same year. This was the origin of the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, of which Boston very soon became the head.

The Officials of the Bay Company—The officers sanctioned by the charter, in addition to the governors and eighteen assistants were, a treasurer, a secretary of the court, major-general, admiral at sea, and commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, to be chosen by freemen (voters in good religious standing) on the last Wednesday in Easter. At first the power of the voters was limited to the election of the assistants, but on May 9, 1632, "It was generally agreed upon that the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants should be chosen by the whole Court of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants *and freeman*." Later the General Court chose and admitted freemen, made laws and appointed officers, claimed the sole power to raise monies, taxes, and to dispose of lands, etc. Probably the principal ruling was one sanctioning the choosing by voters (freemen) of representatives, "who shall have the full power and voices of said freemen . . . for the making of laws, granting of lands, etc.," which was really the establishment of a representative system in New England. Gradually two divisions of the court were recognized, Deputies and Assistants both meeting together until 1644; it is after this model that the present court is patterned.

The Governmental Organization of the Colony—To sum up the governmental organization of the Massachusetts Colony while it remained an independent colony (1629-85), we may say that it consisted of: 1. A Governor. 2. A deputy governor. 3. The assistants (eighteen). 4. The freemen (members of the company). All four of these classes constituted the General Court or Assembly (1629-34), the functions being executive, legislative and judicial. After 1634 representatives of the freemen made up the General Court, except the annual Court of Elections. The General Court was the highest appellate body; the quarterly Shire Courts being presided over by assistants. The electorate consisted of duly admitted freemen (church members from 1631-62) and the election was by the show of hands. The secret ballot was introduced in 1634; proxy voting in 1636, and established in 1637; direct primary elections were begun in 1640 and perfected within a few years. Shires were organized in 1643. Whatever may have been the motives of Charles I in granting a charter which made possible so liberal a government, whatever his intent in allowing control of a colony to be put into its own hands, it must be acknowledged that this King who lost his head because the Puritans of his country thought him a tyrant, *did* give his consent. The stated reason, as recorded in the remarkable document was "so that the inhabitants may be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed as their good life and orderly conversation may invite and win the natives of the country to knowledge and obedience of the true God and Savior of Mankind."

The Massachusetts Colony an Autocracy—A hasty perusal of the charter with its liberal provisions for self-government under which the colony of Massachusetts Bay was founded, and an unthoughtful glance at the form of the government which characterized the Puritan settlements, may leave the impression that the colony was a democracy in intent and fact. This is far from the truth; the Massachusetts Colony was an autocracy of the most definite sort and intended to be such from its beginning. To use a term found often in the early records, the avowed purpose of the leaders in the company which organized and financed the Puritan exodus from England was to found a "theocracy" self-ruling and responsible to God. A more modern expression used to cover the situation as it developed on this side of the ocean, a "Puritan Commonwealth" was established, self-contained, one whose officials and citizens claimed, and used, autocratic powers far exceeding that practiced by the King and Parliament of England. To change the metaphor, the Massachusetts Bay Company was a close corporation, whose business it was to settle, own and manage as it pleased, certain lands purchased from another business concern and confirmed to it by a royal charter. The Governor, deputies and assistants, would in the present day be called president, vice-presidents and board of directors. The "General Court" was little more than a stockholders' meeting, where the "freemen" discussed and voted upon the various matters brought before it by the company. It was the fierce autocratic "closeness" of the Puritan Commonwealth which eventually brought about its undoing.

It is not for the present generation to sit in judgment of the scheme and management of this early company; we have too many examples in the business world of the success of autocratic monopoly. Before we assail the motives and methods of the Puritan founders of the colony, of which Boston became the center, it might be well to show how such a colony could have been established at the time when it was, in any different way or inspired by other motives. Commercialism, no doubt, had something to do with the organization of the movement, but none can deny that a profoundly religious spirit dominated and gave it life and hope. There had been previous attempts to colonize America, the most of which had been failures. With this series of failures before them, it would have been sheer foolishness for the Puritans to have failed to protect their hazardous venture in every way possible from the dangers of interference from without and sedition within. They safeguarded the colony from the start by securing the largest powers possible from King Charles and wisely brought their charter with them, refusing to leave England until assured of complete jurisdiction in the new land over their own affairs. Feeling that God was their guide and ruler, and that they

were God's "elect" people, there was little fear of any internal difficulties in setting up a theocratic colony. The fact that they depended upon the Old Testament rather than the New explains much of the severity shown in the later management of affairs. The theocratic principles of the Puritan leaders, and the legislative, social and religious enforcement of them may have led to injustice and bigotry, but they did make for the security and prosperity of the colony. The whole scheme was visionary and impractical, but it did create a Puritan Commonwealth in the face of all difficulties which endured for more than a half century and which later became the nucleus of the movement which established in America a great republic.

The Homogeneity of the First New Englanders—The solidarity of the first generation of New Englanders was remarkable. As one writer words it: "They were a select and puritanical people in the proper sense of the word. They were not (as to the body of them) a promiscuous and heterogeneous assemblage, but in general of a uniform character, agreeing in the most excellent qualities, principles, and tempers; Christians very much of a primitive stamp. . . . It was as little of a mixed generation, in regard of their moral character and religious profession, that came over first to New England, as perhaps was ever known on earth. They were very much a chosen generation collected from a variety of places, agreeing in the same enterprise, to form a plantation for religion in this distant part of the world."

It has been estimated that 1,500 persons were brought by the twelve vessels of the company to Massachusetts Bay during the summer and fall of 1630. These made up the largest group of English colonists that, up to that time, had come to make their homes in the Crown lands of America. They were better organized for economic and political growth, more united in views and aims, richer in the possession of supplies needed to subdue the soil, and arms and munitions for defense. John Endicott and others arrived at Salem in 1628, the first of the Massachusetts Bay Company to settle under its charter, although this precious document still lacked the King's signature. The next year, Thomas Graves, arriving with a second expedition, made Charlestown, where the brothers Sprague from Salem had located, his headquarters. He laid out a town and started to build a "great house" for the reception of the larger group of immigrants who were expected soon to follow. Charlestown is usually considered to have been founded in July of 1629, but it would seem that this first permanent settlement of the Massachusetts Company on the bay should be dated September, 1628, when the Spragues and others whose names are unknown set up their homes there. If one starts to change dates it would be but fair to go back even further and begin

Charlestown with Thomas Walford, whom the Spragues found there; to Samuel Matherick who had established himself at Winnisimmet (Chelsea) as early as 1624; to David Thomson, an early agent of Gorges, who owned Thomson's Island; and to William Blackstone, or Blaxon, who lived alone on Beacon Hill before ever it was called such, or the founders of Boston had sailed from England.

The Coming of Winthrop and Other Notables—Charlestown settlement had a hundred inhabitants when in 1630 Winthrop, the newly-appointed Governor of the company, arrived with a dozen ships at Salem and within five days came on to Charlestown looking for a "place for our sitting down," as he expressed it. Meanwhile another group of 140 colonists from Dorchester, in the west of England, had arrived in the "Mary and John" and been forced to land by an obdurate captain near Nantasket, but who located at Dorchester, the present South Boston. But the important body of colonists was that with Winthrop, for the notables of the company were in it, the charter was in their possession, and they were intent upon setting up a capital city of the new government. This now famous group of leaders comprised "with Winthrop," we fancy, "the resolute Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, to become governor repeatedly during the succeeding years; Isaac Johnson, 'the greatest furtherer of the colony,' next to Winthrop the foremost man, husband of Lady Arabella, the Earl of Lincoln's daughter . . . who came out with her husband; Sir Richard Saltonstall; Simon Bradstreet, Dudley's son-in-law, whose wife Anne Bradstreet, was to blossom as 'the first American poet,' and himself to remain in public service for many years, and to become the 'Nestor of New England'; William Coddington, merchant, to become the first governor of Rhode Island; Increase Nowell, man of family and education, to serve for many years as secretary of the Colony; William Pynchon, merchant, 'gentleman of learning and religion,' early to found Roxbury, and later, Springfield on the Connecticut."

The intention, when leaving England, was to build "a town fortified three leagues up the Charles River." But the Charles River failed to be where they expected to find it, and after exploring it and the Mystic, the majority voted to stay at Charlestown. Other ships of the fleet came sailing into the harbor during the summer, and Charlestown was soon overcrowded by the addition to its numbers of 1,500 or more people weak or ill from the long voyage. Infectious diseases broke out, the scarcity of springs of good water made matters worse; by the end of the summer, two hundred had died. "We were forced," wrote Deputy Governor Dudley, "to change counsel and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charlestown, some at Boston, some upon Mistick, which we named Meadford, some of us westward on Charles River, four miles from

Charlestown, which place we named Watertown; others of us two miles from Boston in a place we named Roxbury; others upon the river of Saugus, between Salem and Charlestown, and the western men, four miles south from Boston, at a place which we named Dorchester." Dudley was probably responsible for the selection of the site of the fortified Newtowne (1630), named Cambridge eight years later. Cambridge added to the seven towns mentioned by Dudley make up the so-called eight "Primary Towns" of Massachusetts.

Boston Receives Its Name—The governmental machinery was set up in Charlestown August 23, 1630, if one dates from the first Court of Assistants held on this side of the Atlantic; a church was founded and a solemn covenant entered into on July 30 of the same year. On September 17, 1630, by order of the Court of Assistants, it was determined "That Trimountaine shall be called Boston." Dudley is the authority for the statement that this title for the capital town was determined upon before the arrival of the colonists in this country. The name was taken from the Lincolnshire, England, home of many of the settlers, and applied to the proposed principal town because of that fact, or in compliment to Isaac Johnson, one of the most active of the promoters and backers of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and to Lady Arabella, his wife. It is interesting to note how quickly Boston came to the fore in the affairs of the colony. Newtowne (Cambridge) was planned as the capital and Winthrop expected to reside there; Charlestown for a brief period was the seat of government; but on November 29, 1630, the third Court of Assistants was held at Boston and the first General Court had been held there the previous month. The Governor's house, which was being prepared in Charlestown for setting up at Newtowne, was erected in Boston, to the displeasure of some, and this determined rather definitely which should be the principal town of the colony. Boston had few accessions to its population until 1633, when the "Griffin" arrived with two hundred passengers, but already it had been voted by the General Court, "It is thought by general consent that Boston is the fittest place for publique business of any place in the Bay," although it was then "neither the greatest nor the richest." The accession of most of the "Griffin's" passengers with the possessions they brought laid the foundations for a growth in population and wealth which by 1637 had given it a ranking in these respects above all the towns in Massachusetts, a position it has never relinquished.

John Winthrop was chosen Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on October 30, 1629, and for two decades the fortunes of the venture were closely associated with him. Twelve times was he elected to the highest office, three times he was Deputy Governor, and in all the other years he served as the head of the assistants. From the founda-

tion of Boston he had been at the head of her body of selectmen, or serving it in some other definite way. He died April 5, 1649, when sixty-one years old. Dr. Paltry wrote of him:

The importance which history should ascribe to him must be proportionate to the importance attributed to the subsequent agency of the Commonwealth of which he was the most eminent founder. It would be erroneous to pretend that the principles upon which it was established were the original conception of his mind; but undoubtedly it was his policy, more than any other man's, that organized into shape, animated with practical vigor, and prepared for permanency those primeval sentiments and institutions that have directed the course of thought and action in New England in later times. And equally certain is it that among the millions of living men descended from those whom he ruled, there is not one that does not—through efficient influences, transmitted in society and thought along the intervening generations—owe much of what is best within him, and in the circumstances about him, to the benevolent and courageous wisdom of John Winthrop.

The Puritan Commonwealth—The Puritan Commonwealth reached the height of its complete but not uncontested control over the destinies of the colony during the two decades of Winthrop's leadership. It was another thirty years before it was displaced by another form of government, but they were years of fading power. The stern, yet noble, scheme of a Commonwealth based on religion, one in which the Church and State were one, had met with difficulties almost from its inception. It is more a subject for a chapter on religion than for one on politics, but it was the successive religious controversies that showed the impracticability of a theocracy. The attempts at the repression of the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, of Williams and the Baptists, and of the Quakers, are described in a following chapter. The English government finally interfered, and with the freedom accorded by its measures to other religions and ideas, the foundations of the Commonwealth were undermined. It did not fall, however, before it had impressed the Puritan spirit upon the character of New England's men and institutions. Even the flood of foreign immigration has not completely submerged the Puritan heritage.

Religion was not the only disintegrating force within the Commonwealth. The rise of regularly organized town governments about the time of Winthrop's death tolled the knell of centralized religious government. Whatever may be said of the narrowness of Puritan legislators, there is little evidence of anything but a broad policy practiced by them in the recognition of the right of each little community to organize their settlement. In the early years of the colony the general and other courts, which might be expected to take a hand in stimulating or influencing the affairs of the eight primary towns founded during this period, seem to have had little or nothing to do with them. About all that the authorities did was to select the site of Newtowne (Cambridge) and confirm the choice of names given to Boston, Dorchester and Watertown. All these towns were self-planted and self-organized, taking land without grant,

laying out plots for individuals, and building homes and planting the soil without permission or interference. The very independence of the method of town settlement foretold of an independence of higher civil authority which should have been a warning to the leaders and backers of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Imagine a close business corporation at the beginning of its career exercising no control over its main source of income, in this case, land!

Rise of the "Town System"—One of the greatest contributions to the science of government made by Massachusetts is the New England town system. Drake wrote of the town governments as being "so simple and yet so perfect, that this model of the American village has often served as the germ of states and empires." He was, of course, writing of the town of a much later day, which was a distinct entity, managing its own affairs which might range from religion, land titles, internal improvements, to education, care of the poor and insane, and even to the waging of war, issuing of currency and the establishment of foreign relations. At first the Massachusetts town was a social-religious organization growing out of a desire of colonists who wanted to live together as a community and have a common church, some common land, and safety through proximity to others in the development of acreages chosen by or by mutual consent allotted to them. When Boston was settled it was by a concerted movement of a group of people who liked the peninsula, with its natural safety from Indian depredation, its compactness and ease of approach from the river and sea, and if we are to accept the records, principally because there was good drinking water there. Blackstone, a "squatter" on Tri-Montaine, invited them; the founders came and settled down just as unconcernedly.

If the student desires to study the formation of towns, their early history and development, no better one could be chosen than Charlestown, the first settlement in Massachusetts to be organized as a town and whose early records are the most complete. The first entry in the Charlestown records reads as follows:

"The inhabitants yt first settled in this place & brought it into the denomination of An English Towne was in Anno 1628 (July, 1629, new style) as follos: vizt,

Ralph Sprague	Abra-. Palmer	Mr. Graves who had charge
Rich Sprague	Walter Palmer	of the Company of Patentees
William Sprague	Nicholas Stowers	with whom hee built the great
John Meech	John Stickline	house this yeare for such of the
Simon Hoyte	Tho. Walford	sd Company as are shortly to
	Smith, yt lived	come over wch aftrwards be-
	heere alone before	came the Meeteing house."

And Mr. Bright, Minister to the Companies Servants :

"By whome it was Jointly agreed & concluded yt this place on the North side of the Charles River by Natives called Mishawum shall henceforth from the name of the River bee called Charlestowne wch was also confirmed by Mr. John Endicutt Governour."

"It is Jointly agreed & concluded by the Inhabitants of this Towne yt Mr. Graves doe moddle & lay out the forme of the Towne with Streets about the Hill wch was accordingly done and aprooved by the Governo^r."

"It is Jointly agreed & concluded yt each Inhabitant have A two-Acre Lott to plant upon, & all to fence in Common wch was accordingly by Mr. Graves measured unto them."

"Upon which—Ralph Sprague & others began to build their houses, & to prepare ffencing for their Lotts wch was aftrwds sett up almost in a Semi-Circular forme on the South and South East side of yt field laid out to them, wch lies scituate on ye Northwest side of the Towne Hill."

These are typical of first recorded acts of most towns. There were no regular town meetings; the "It is jointly agreed and concluded" was the formula of the vote; and the townsfolk attended as a whole to the town's affairs. In general, the admission of new townsmen or inhabitants, the division and allotments of lands, the choice of officials and committees and the passage of orders for the regulation of fields, fences and commons expressed the will of a general meeting or assembly of the townsmen, or those who had the right to plant in the common fields or pasture their cattle on the common pastures. The towns, in other words, were organized as plain farming communities on a thoroughly simple and democratic basis. The development of the three essential organs peculiar to town polity, *viz.*, the town meeting, town orders or by-laws, and selectmen, appeared almost contemporaneously in the Primary Towns before 1635. The General Court on March 3, 1635, passed an order which sanctioned the measures and methods already developed by the towns.

The Town Government of Boston—The development of town government in Boston was not dis-similar to that of other towns except that it was one of the smallest in acreage and grew rather more rapidly, therefore requiring more numerous and elaborate orders and committees. Its acreage was only about 750; much of this was hilly, and little of it was wooded. Without legislative appointment, it was the capital. For these and other reasons, Boston was always more associated in laws and town activity with the general government of the colony, and many of the town records are those that really were a part of the government as a whole. In 1632 Boston was granted by the General Court a neck of land at Winthrop; liberty was given for twenty years to "fetch wood from Dorchester." The next year the right was given to "fetch wood con-

tinuously" from a part of Noddle's Island, the whole of which was granted in 1637 to Boston. Other grants were made until, by 1639, the Boston town meeting had jurisdiction over 43,000 acres, or very much more than the whole area of the present city. Fifty acres of The Common had been purchased for £30 from Blackstone; there were other common planting grounds and pastures which probably totaled, in 1635, about 4,000 acres. The common of today is but the shrunk vestige of the ancient common lands of Boston. It has been preserved with but little change from Colonial times, and is one of the pleasantest memorials of the primitive conditions under which the city was founded.

Boston's Early Importance—The extant town records have no entries dating back of September, 1634, and most of the entries for the following six years have to do with grants of garden, house and planting lots. The first entry refers to a "bridg"; perhaps this was at the foot of the present Brattle Street. The meeting-house was the nucleus around which most town organizations were constructed. Boston had a church, founded August 23, 1630. A ferry was undertaken by one "Edw. Converse in 1631" and was maintained until 1786, when it was superseded by the Charles River Bridge, the first to connect the town with the mainland opposite. A market was a prominent part of every large town plan; there were references to one as early as 1636. The commercial side of Boston came early to the fore; a town dock was one of the first communal enterprises, although the wharves were mainly privately owned. Boston has always been the *entrepôt* of New England. It has been estimated that during the period 1630-40 the arrivals in the colony totaled 298 ships, bringing 21,200 passengers. The greater part of these came to Boston. Of the fishing vessels, and the fisheries of that time that were the principal source of revenue to Boston, we have no records. The British State papers of 1664 are authority for the statement that Boston had a great trade with Barbadoes in fish and provisions; that 300 vessels traded to the West Indies and elsewhere; and 1,300 boats were engaged in the Cape Sable and Cape Cod fisheries. Probably the statistics had reference to Massachusetts rather than to Boston. The metropolis of the colony was a busy, forward-looking place, its first records showing that spirit which characterized it for two centuries, that of being at least one step in advance of her neighbors.

The Capital Town—Boston's history is not that of a town among the many of the colony, but of the leader, the center, the capital. The first town house was built in 1659, and was a combination of town, market and court house, located in the place now occupied by the "Old State House." It was the seat of the town government until it was super-

seded, in 1742, by another market and town house, Faneuil Hall. The first house was more valued as a market than for its chambers for the courts and town officials, for the General Court or Assembly was the more important feature of the governmental life of Boston than the civic, in which it was unlike the other towns in Massachusetts. The sessions of the Assembly were probably held in the First Church, which was near the Market Place, as well as those of the other courts.

In 1643 the whole colony was divided into four shires for military as well as judicial purposes, Boston becoming the shire town of Suffolk County. The erection of the counties mark the beginning of the end of the strictly Puritan period and Boston from now on increased in station as the capital of a colony of less limited nature. There were, perhaps, 18,000 people in Eastern Massachusetts alone, and possibly 25,000 in New England. The experimental stage had been passed; the colony was in a fair way to become wealthy and powerful. "Fifty villages rested in the openings in the forests, and the spires of forty churches pointed to the heavens." The Puritans were not only land rich, but, profiting by a surplus production, had become importers. "New buildings, some even of brick, sprang up in every quarter of Boston; markets were erected; wharves stretched into the harbor; native and foreign vessels were sent to the West Indies and to the Madeira Islands, and returned laden with sugar, oranges, wine, cotton, tobacco and bullion; and these with furs, and the products of the fisheries, were sent to England to pay for manufactured goods."

Signs of a Change of Policy—The Massachusetts Bay Company, as a commercial corporation, had proven a great success, but was beginning to show weakness as a religious-state organization. Was prosperity incompatible with religion; could not the colony succeed financially and progress religiously? Had there been too lax a control over the lands chartered to the company, and of the towns which were founded on them? Or was the whole scheme of a theocracy impossible of realization? At any rate, there were signs of disintegration at this time (1643). Winthrop was not being elected Governor with any regularity, and no one seems to have been able to fill his place. Controversies were many; the number of enemies of the Commonwealth increased at home and abroad; jealousy of the success of the venture was stirring up inquiries into the management of what was supposed to be a Crown colony. The electorate was also getting out of hand, refusing to be led by an oligarchy, one result of which was the forcing of the leaders from their position that God's laws as found in the Scripture was the rule and required no promulgation of others. The Bodye of Liberties, of 1641, was one result of the insistence of the people. Such were the signs of

the times, but the Commonwealth was to live, in name at least, for thirty years.

The Union of the Colonies—On the other side of the shield is a more cheerful picture. The great event of the year 1643 was not the creation of shires, but the final formation of the confederacy of the colonies in New England, a thing for which Governor Winthrop had worked unceasingly for six years. This Confederation or Union was one of the most memorable of the events in the history of our country, and may have been the pattern of confederacies since proposed or established in America. Only four colonies adopted it, and it was but feeble in its effects, but it was the first of its kind. At Boston, on September 17, 1643, the commissioners of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven—Plymouth coming in later—met and signed the agreement. It was the birthday of the town, and one hundred and fifty years later, the same day and month, the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the likeness to the original articles being noticeable.

The preamble to the articles of New England Confederation or Union reads as follows :

We all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, *viz.* : to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace; and whereas by our settling, by the wise providence of God, we are further dispersed upon the seacoast and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us or our posterity; and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us, and seeing by reason of the sad distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered both from that humble way of seeking advice and reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect; we therefore do conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a present consolation among ourselves for mutual help and strength in all future concernment, that as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the true tenor and meaning of the ensuing articles.

This explicit preamble is followed by twelve articles. The first fixes the name, "The United Colonies of New England." The second is a declaration of a perpetual league, with its purposes. The third asserts the rights of jurisdiction of each colony within its own boundaries, and confines the confederacy to the four colonies forming it, until otherwise agreed. The fourth establishes the rule to be followed in the apportionment of colonial expenses in time of war. The fifth states the course to be pursued in case of any foreign invasion. The sixth gives to each colony the power to choose two commissioners, fully authorized to act in its

behalf. The seventh provides for the election of a president of the board. The eighth provides for the establishing of "agreements and orders in general case of a civil nature," and for the preservation of justice in general. The ninth forbids each colony engaging in war, without the consent of the rest. The tenth provides for calling extraordinary meetings. The eleventh provides for cases arising from a breach of the articles; and the twelfth ratifies and confirms the whole.

This league had to meet many difficulties, but was in general satisfactory. It was practically an assumption on the part of the colonies of sovereignty, which far exceeded the expectations of the giver of the charter, and the founders of the colonies. The noble legislation was a forerunner of a more significant act, when a Declaration of Independence was the first document of a Union of States.

The confederacy accomplished the purpose for which it had been formed, but never was a strong organization. It made the colonies feared by their Dutch and French neighbors on the north and south, and by the Indians. The members of the union were not yet ready for any close association, the colonial legislatures being too jealous of their rights and powers. There was also a growing jealousy in the mother country of the thriving colonies on this side of the water. When a royal commission arrived in 1664, the Confederacy was ordered henceforth to meet only once in every three years. There were meetings in 1672, 1675, 1679, 1681, and 1684, but the glory of the organization had long since passed. The confederacy was indeed one of the reasons for the Royal Commission, since it was held to indicate an assumption by the colonies of the King's prerogative. The Union did add largely to the prestige of Boston as the principal town in the most important member of the body.

Trouble Brewing—Winthrop died in 1649. For ten years after his death the freemen of Massachusetts were left to manage their affairs with little interference from abroad. There had been times of anxiety, but Charles I had been kept too busy with his own affairs to have time for any attention to those on this side of the water. The colonists, on the other hand, had recognized the importance of keeping on the right side of Parliament and, later, of Cromwell. In 1660 news arrived of the restoration of the monarchy; Charles II had been proclaimed King of England. No address of loyalty to the new sovereign was sent by Massachusetts, and the Kingship of Charles II was not proclaimed in the colony. Complaints were laid before the King by Mason and Gorges and others, the Quakers and some of the eastern people made their grievances known. The Commonwealth had been rather severe in its refusal of religious freedom to others. Samuel Maverick, he of Noddle's Island, had been compelled to leave the bay and, returning to England,

became a bitter enemy of the colony, one who later had the ear of Charles. Dr. John Clarke had been banished from Massachusetts, as had been the Quakers. With the restoration, it was expected that the Puritans would be called to account; it was not likely that this country would be overlooked in the housecleaning process.

The colony authorities kept very quiet wondering and planning how best they might conserve their liberties enjoyed for thirty years. A greeting was eventually sent to the King, and a brief but gracious reply received. After fifteen months of hesitancy, a proclamation of the restored Charles was ordered by the General Court. Bradstreet and Norton were sent abroad to pray his Majesty might "graciously confirm our patent granted by your royal predecessor of famous memory." The agents were graciously received and answered. The King in his reply confirmed the charter privileges and declared an amnesty of all past errors, "*Provided always,*" and followed this with a string of conditions which nullified all that had gone before. To these conditions and the list of complaints brought back by Norton and Bradstreet but slight attention was paid. Two years later, the royal commissioners, of whom mention has already been made, came to see how the colonies had heeded the orders of the King. They were "wined and dined," soft words were exchanged, and the commission went on its way without accomplishing much of that for which it had been sent. Fortunately for Massachusetts, home affairs so engaged the attention of the King that the colony had a ten-year respite from interference.

The Charter Revoked—These ten years of grace were marked by troubles with the Indians, which reached their climax in King Philip's War, which drew heavily upon the men and resources of the colonies and was particularly hard on Boston. In 1676, before there had been time for recovery, Edward Randolph, "the evil genius of New England," landed in Boston. As representative of the King he instituted the inquiry, which continued, brought about the downfall of the Puritan government of Massachusetts, and the vacating of the charter. In the end an action *pro warranto* was brought against the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay, the object of the warrant being to find whether the company had done any of the things of which it stood accused, and if so, to show cause why the charter should not be vacated. There was little use of fighting, for if the King wanted to annul the charter, any defense the company might make would not avail. And many illegal acts had been performed. On October 23, 1684, the charter under which the Massachusetts Colony had been founded was declared vacated, and the Puritan Commonwealth which had existed as an independent political body for more than a half century, came to an end.

The revocation of the charter caused great distress and anger in this country. It was but natural that a people who had lived so long in the enjoyment of a government of their own creation should resent the abrupt deprivation of it. With no encouragement, and lacking any royal aid, a company had been formed which had developed a region where others had failed. They had taken their lives in their hands, left the safety and comfort of home and England and sought freedom in a harsh land. With their own hands had they subdued soil and natives, become prosperous, and above all had created a political organization independent of English control or aid which secured to them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. By what right, then, did a new King of England deprive them of their just rights? Why should they not have the continued control of their own destinies?

The Crown Against the Colony—There are at least two sides to every question, as there was to the question of the right of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to govern itself without interference by the Crown. According to the English idea the government was a living body with which all parts were indissolubly joined. Emigration did not break this connection, particularly when the emigrants settled on what was claimed by the dominion as their lands. The King had consented to the emigration, and to this country, but on the implied condition that they recognize that these lands were the Crown's, and their allegiance was to be to the King. The Crown lawyers drew up a list of the things that the colonies had no right to do, and which should be condemned and changed to conform with the English type of government. They had confined the right of franchise to a small number instead of in conformity with the rules of the mother country. They had refused to allow the free use of the English Book of Common Prayer by those desiring to do so. The oath of allegiance was no longer required by their people. Laws had been made not in accord with English law, and in some cases contrary to it. Appeal from these laws to England was refused. Laws were made, and writs issued in the name of the colonies or their officials, instead of in the name of the King of England. Money had been coined without permission. What was probably one of the principal causes behind the movement to regain control over the colonies was the rising jealousy of the English merchants of the prosperity of the Massachusetts marine, and the great accusation against the colonies was that they paid no attention to the navigation laws. Many other accusations were brought up, but these are sufficient to show that there is something to be said on the English side of the question.

Boston Against the King—Massachusetts, from the very beginning, had been a bad child, defiant as none of the other children of Britain were

defiant, independent almost to perverseness, lusty and bold. But there were excuses to be made for her, and which she had the courage to make. Emigration had been of free will, and as such they had a right to liberty; that they had the right to have within the colony a free government of like privileges and jurisdictions as the State from which they had emigrated; "that they were entitled to the like power of reasoning and will in a similar legislature, and to a like judicature and executive powers within the bounds of their corporation, as the government of the mother country had within its own realms; in short, that the colony, as a politically free being, had a right to all those internal powers which were essential to its being as a free agent. The power of the Parliament to tax them without consent, since they were unrepresented in that body, was generally denied, and the right to trial by jury in all cases was inflexibly demanded."

There was much to be said on both sides, but it was the English ideas of jurisprudence which were to be enforced a long period of years. The colonists were to be humbled; reduced to the plane of mere vassals of the crown. But the character of the people was such that their spirit was unbroken and their love of liberty was to increase until they were ready to throw off the ties which bound them to the mother country.

Political events in England for a time prevented the setting up in Massachusetts of a legal government. Charles II died and James II came to the throne in February, 1685, with a promise on his lips to preserve the laws of the land inviolate. England rejoiced, ignorant of what new forms of tyranny they were to witness and bear; the colonies waited, knowing only that they would be humiliated. The King was, for a time, too busy with home affairs to give any attention to those of the colonies. In May, 1686, Joseph Dudley was given a commission as president of a provisional government consisting of Massachusetts, Maine, and the "King's Province." Randolph was the true manager, or considered himself such, which boded ill to this country. The president's commission was read before the General Court, which immediately adjourned. Dudley and Randolph, although both on the King's business, could never agree. The colonies viewed their quarreling with amused contempt.

Andros Comes to Boston—On December 20, 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston, with the authority, and accompanied by forces, to set up a provincial government. As Governor-General he announced a series of measures that thoroughly angered the people. A tax of twenty pence was levied on each poll, and also one penny on every pound value in real estate, for the defrayal of the expenses of his government. The press was bridled, a restraint placed on marriages, and the Episcopal Church was all but forcibly established as the State church, a tax being levied for its

support. Excise laws were passed and enforced; no one could leave the country without permission. The act which enraged Massachusetts most, was one which proclaimed that because of the revocation of the charter, all lands automatically had reverted to the King, and whomsoever desired to retain legal possession of the lands which they formerly had owned must pay a quit-rent to the Crown. The common lands were also claimed by Andros for the King. In effect all titles dating prior to Andros' day were thrown into the discard. The enraged inhabitants of the colony, particularly those resident in Boston, since the new laws were more strictly enforced in the town than elsewhere, fought this arbitrary oppressive government as well as was possible. But the only legislative body that remained was the "Governor's Council," which could do little more than approve the Governor's decrees.

Increase Mather was sent to England to present the grievances of the province, but secured nothing but the vague promises of a forgetful King. The revolution which seated the young Prince of Orange on the throne of James II inspired a minor revolution in Boston, when once the news had been brought to this country (April 4, 1689). The Bostonians, on the eighteenth, rose in force, captured the commander of the frigate "Rose." The inhabitants gathered in the streets needing but leadership to make the insurrection formidable. The secret history of the fortnight preceding the eighteenth, and of that day's events, has never been written. Before the day was over, the most of the officials who served under Andros were in jail, and the Governor had taken refuge in the fort on Fort Hill. A message was sent to Andros calling attention to how "unsafe he was like to be if he did not deliver up himself and the fort and government." He tried to escape, but was captured and jailed. On the next day the fort surrendered under an order extorted from Andros, the "Rose" struck her foremasts and sent her sails ashore, and the government of Andros had been overthrown by the first of the revolutions which were staged in Boston in the strife for independence.

The laws of the old charter were now declared to be in force. A provisional council was called, at which the former Governor, Bradstreet, and the council of 1686 were returned to office. Increase Mather was again sent abroad with representations from the revolting province. While there, William and Mary became monarchs of England, and all Mather could win from them was a promise that Andros would not be sent to Boston again to rule, and that he and the queen were "to be proclaimed by the former magistrates." Mather remained for months trying to secure a renewal of the old charter, but to no avail. A new charter was framed and signed, October 7, 1691, by which Massachusetts was to be ruled as a royal province. The King was to appoint the Governor,

Deputy-Governor and Secretary; the people to elect twenty-eight councillors (eighteen from Massachusetts). Each town was allowed two deputies to represent them in the General Court (Boston was allowed four); rights of citizenship were to be respected; liberty of conscience was granted to all but "Papists." The province was to consist of Nova Scotia, Maine and Plymouth annexed to Massachusetts, and Boston was to be the seat of government.

Boston the Capital of a Province—The provincial period in Boston history dates from May 16, 1692, when the charter became operative, to October 7, 1774. It was a period filled with wars against the French and Indians, when the colonists were associated as never before with citizens of England who had not come to this country to make their permanent homes. It was a time of intimate acquaintance with England and English government, when Boston, in particular, reaped what advantages there were in having royal governors in the town with all the pomp and glory connected with such events. But Massachusetts grew steadily away from the mother country, and Boston was the seat of sedition. With the exception of the first Governor, all the rest, in their official papers, show that the province was disaffected with Kingly management, making the most distinct assertions "that the animating feeling and intent of all the disaffection here was consistent only with an absolute resolve to be independent of all royal and parliamentary control." The usual advice given was to use repressive measures and intimidation by a military force quartered on the province.

The English Crown had an opportunity covering a period extending over more than three-quarters of a century to win Massachusetts to the fold from which it had wandered. At the end of that period the province not only was to break entirely her connection with England, but was to be the leader in a revolt that took from her thirteen colonies, the only colonies that ever revolted from the authority of the parent country. There is no question that England had been remiss in her care of the early settlements, allowing them to grow up under a self-government which practically taught and anticipated independence. It is conceivable that, wisely guided and permitted to retain the freedom which she enjoyed under the first charter, Massachusetts might never have revolted. The French and Indian wars, with their dangers to the settlements here, might have been used to win a closer allegiance to the King. It is useless, however, to speculate on the "might have been." When the King of England "assumed again the government of New England," it was too late, and the methods used were ill fitted to their purpose. The inhabitants had come to believe in their natural right to self-government; they had no use for King or royal governors. It was impossible to send offi-

cials who could be pleasing to a people who, without guidance or assistance from abroad, had proven by sixty years of trial, that they were capable of managing their own affairs.

The Provincial Governors—Ten royal governors were sent to Boston by various Kings. Ten men of differing types who were arbitrarily appointed as magistrates to lead and rule the Puritan colony. Four of the ten were natives, the first was proposed by Increase Mather; several were really great men, all seem to have been honest in the discharge of what they considered their duty. Not one of them was successful, the native New Englanders least of all. Not one found pleasure in his task, nor did any of them fail to be the subjects of complaints. It would be difficult to find on the pages of history the record of so complete a failure as that of the royal governors of Massachusetts. Their services to their King were a complete loss. Of the legislation instituted and signed by them during eighty-two years, there are practically no traces in the governmental institutions of the present Commonwealth. The principal memorial of the royal governors now extant is the beautiful window in the State House with its stained glass replicas of their personal coat-of-arms which had been used as privy seals. The names of these men, and the dates of their rule, are as follows:

Sir William Phipps.....	1691-1694
William Stoughton (Lieutenant-Governor, Acting Governor)	1694-1699
Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont.....	1699-1701
Joseph Dudley	1702-1715
Samuel Shute	1716-1722
William Dummer (Lieutenant-Governor, Acting Governor)	1723-1728
William Burnet	1728-1729
Jonathan Belcher	1730-1741
William Shirley	1741-1757
Thomas Pownall	1757-1760
Francis Bernard	1760-1769
Thomas Hutchinson	1769-1774

General Thomas Gage might be included, but he was but a temporary substitute for Hutchinson, who it was intended to return; he was appointed with reference to military rather than to civil functions; and he never really governed, his authority being thwarted from the first. Of the thirteen mentioned above, only ten exercised full functions as royal appointees.

Results of the Period of Provincial Government—No attempt will be made to recount the events of the successive administrations of the governors. Aside from wars, the tale would be one of bickerings and petty strife. The main difficulties grew out of the fact that while the King made the appointment, the Colonial Assembly paid the salary, or was supposed to. More time was wasted in the Legislature over this one item than over the many far more important affairs. Never was a defi-

nite amount promised, and seldom was more than one thousand pounds voted for this purpose in any one year. It is not to be expected that a Governor could be either defiant or persistent in the advocacy of any specific act, while he was dependent upon the good will of a political body for the means to pay his bills. As one writer words it, "They were little more than the paid clerks of the General Court."

Nearly all of the governors had something to do with the conduct of the almost continuous war with the French and their Indian allies waged during the provincial period. Some took prominent parts in the campaigns, but won little personal glory or peace in the fulfillment of their duties. The victories were won almost unaided by the colonies, with Massachusetts bearing the brunt of the burden. The story of this almost century of border conflict is told in another chapter. All that need be recalled here is that the greatest prize of the years was not the fall of Quebec and Montreal in 1759 and 1760, with the end of French dominion in America, but what the colonies learned about themselves, and about the so-called great nations of Europe, including England. They were taught warfare; that there was strength in union, at least for military purposes; that united they need fear no foe of any nationality. The cost of the wars to Massachusetts was very great in men and money. The cost was repaid later in the residue of trained soldiers and commanders who were to serve in the armies of thirteen united colonies.

Boston in 1760—At the close of the French War in 1763, in spite of the tremendous toll of both men and means taken by the long struggle, the province had grown greatly in population and prosperity. Massachusetts—it then included Maine and New Hampshire—consisted of thirteen counties, and there were two hundred and forty towns within its limits. The number of inhabitants was given as 245,000, Boston accounting for 15,500 of these. The figures are probably less than the truth, for the province was too suspicious of the mother country to desire the full extent of her strength known. Commerce had increased greatly, six hundred vessels were known to be engaged in trade. Manufacturing consisted of little more than ship building, for England discouraged the making of anything that her workmen could turn out. There was wealth enough in Massachusetts to import what she needed in made goods, wealth drawn from her fisheries, the soil, and her ships. The exports exceeded the imports, a condition that worried the authorities in England, for it was not to their purpose that the colonies should become independent of that country. The relatively close union of the French wars was now ended, and the last strong tie between the two broken. England was to try methods of securing money from the colonies and at the same time reduce them to dependency. To this end native manufactures had

been discouraged, restrictions had been placed on commerce, and taxes were to be laid. If ever there was a time when delicacy and care should have been used in the treatment of the province it was then. The last chance had come to bind the lusty but discontented child to its mother's apron strings. Through the irony of fate a stupid King was placed upon the throne, and a foolish ministry took up the task of training the children. They made the mistake of trying to spank the whole thirteen, not realizing that the thirteen sons had almost reached manhood. The result was disastrous.

The Provincial Years in Boston—Before leaving the provincial period some of its effects upon Boston should be recorded, and some of the phases in its development as the principal town in this country noted. Boston as the capital of a great province was vastly different from the Boston and chief settlement of the Puritans. It became the seat and center of a miniature court, with a royal Governor and his gay retinue of subordinates. A knight, a baronet, and even an earl were among the King's appointees. The dull colors of the Puritan were replaced by scarlet and lace. The newcomers were not only disinclined to adopt any of the manners or ways of the natives, but emphasized and flaunted their different customs and dress. The Rose and Crown Inn and the Royal Exchange taverns became the rendezvous of the new elements. The streets were filled with the gay uniforms of British naval officers and army commanders all through the French and Indian War period. The old religion was discarded. The new King's Chapel, which Andros had started building, was made the official church, and on its walls and pillars were hung the escutcheons of the King and the governors. The North End was the "court" section of the town, with many fine houses, usually of brick and surrounded with spacious grounds and gardens. The Province House was in this district, and the place in which was staged the pageantries, gayeties and formalities of the King's vice-court in Boston.

Probably the old régime, if they had not been above making a play on words, would have said that the Province House was the scene of the court's vices. Certain it was that the fathers of the town frowned upon the frivolity introduced, and mourned sadly over the changes which were taking place. The most determined had no fellowship with those who introduced old English sports on holidays, and kept on with their daily tasks on Christmas Day, which the newcomers observed with some degree of religion as well as gayety. The nucleus of that element which continued the fight against royal rule always remained separate from both the "oppressor" and his adherents. It must be confessed, however, that the native population were not untouched by the presence of so much of what was new and attractive. Secretly or openly, many of the

native stock joined hands with those of the royal government, and from these evolved that class which, in the Revolution, were known as Royalists of "Tories." A glance at the population figures of Boston in this period is enlightening. The first enumeration made by the town was in 1722, when 10,567 persons were found. As the growth of the place was no longer by emigration, it shows how attractive Boston had become to people from the surrounding districts, men of wealth who ranked well in commerce and social position. By 1750 the population had increased to 15,730. Compare these figures with the provincial census of 1776, which reported on 6,573 inhabitants in the town. Not all, or even the larger part, of this loss in population is to be credited to the absence of the patriots from Boston, but rather, as some authorities insist, to the hurried departure of the royalists.

Royalist Boston—There were more permanent additions to Boston and its life than population during the provincial period. A visitor, in 1760, just before the great fire of that year, wrote of Boston that it had much the air of some of the best country towns of England. Another, writing some years before the Revolution, said: "A gentleman from London would almost think himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of people, their homes, furniture, tables, dress and conversation, which is as splendid and showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London. Upon the whole, Boston is the most flourishing Town for trade and commerce in the English America. Near six hundred sail of ships have been laden here in a year for Europe and the British Plantations. The goodness of the pavement may compare with most in London; to gallop a horse on it is three shillings and four pence forfeit." And a more recent writer remarks: "Much similar evidence might be adduced, if needful, to show that after the alternate storm of a century and a half the wilderness had begun 'to blossom like the rose'; that Provincial Boston with its new churches, its fine public buildings, its stately residences, its nicely paved streets, its Common fenced in and planted with trees, its 'superb pier,' its busy docks and ferries, its forest of shipping, its fine forts and batteries, its spinning, rope-walks and whirling windmills, had already so invaded and transformed the once grand and solitary Tramont, that sturdy William Blackstone would have gazed in bewilderment at the winding shores along which he might have ridden upon his ambling bull, and the worshipful Isaac Johnson might have hunted as vainly for his garden as modern antiquaries have for his grave" (Bynner).

Public Buildings—Of the "fine public buildings," the Town House, Faneuil Hall and some of the twenty churches of a half dozen different

denominations which graced the streets, were among the more notable. The first Town House, of which the present Old State House is the lineal descendant, had been built in 1657-59 with the provisions of the will of Captain Robert Keayne, founder and first captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. His money was not enough for its completion so the townspeople raised the balance and erected a "very substantial and comely" wooden structure. The Town House served the colony and the province for a time. Here sat Governors Endicott, Leverett and Bradstreet, Joseph Dudley as president of New England, and Andros as well as some of the royal governors. The "great fire," the eighth so named, burned the house, as well as the nearby meeting-house and a hundred dwellings. A second Town House was built in 1713, but of brick; burned all but the walls, it was rebuilt in 1747-49, and is the present Old State House. The Province House, of which mention has been made, was one of the largest and most elaborate of the private homes of its time. It was purchased for the official dwelling of the royal governors in 1716, although most of these built houses for themselves. The Province House was used for our public business until the building of the present State House in 1796. Faneuil Hall was presented to the town by Peter Faneuil and was one of its finest public buildings. It was burned in 1762, and the present structure built upon its walls the next year. It became the place for town meetings and, as such, the "Cradle of Liberty."

Present Vestiges of Provincial Utilities—The provincial period gave birth to many of our present public utilities. The nucleus of a school system was organized; the town chose a special committee, in 1709, to consider the affairs of the free grammar school (Latin school) and like committees seem to have been continued in office. In 1770, such a committee "found 900 scholars in 5 schools." The "Selectmen" form of town control developed more fully during this time, several of the governors being selectmen. Watchmen were paid to patrol the streets, their lanterns being the first style of street lighting Boston afforded. Toward the middle of the century public-spirited citizens set lamps outside their homes. There was no town water, unless some of the more public wells may be called such. The frequent fires caused the division of the town into fire wards in 1711, with wardens, whose badge of office was a long staff, and to whom was delegated all the authority in putting out fires. In 1733 there were seven engines for extinguishing fires. The poor were always the care of the rich, and an alms-house was early provided. The prosperity of Boston so drew paupers from all over the country, that by 1741 the yearly charge was £5,000, a large sum to be raised in a place of only 2,972 polls. A house of correction was built in 1720, and a few

years later charity schools, on Fort Hill, one for boys, the other for girls, much after the pattern of the more modern farm school.

Ferries gave access to Charlestown until a bridge was erected after the Revolution. The Long Wharf of 1710 was the most important public enterprise up to that date. It is described as "a noble pier 1,800 or 2,000 feet long, with a Row of Warehouses on the North Side for the use of Merchants. The Pier runs so far into the Bay that Ships of greatest Burthen may unlade without Help of Boats or Lighters. From the head of the Pier you go up the chief Street of the Town." (King or State Street). Boston Harbor was well fortified by 1763, as was befitting a town which had been the center from whence had sailed so many war expeditions. Boston, from the first, was blessed more than any other colony with close intercommunication with those nations reached by water. During the provincial area, the coach and the post road were perfected to a fair degree, and the town was noted for the number of its horses and vehicles. Douglas, in his valuation of 1742, mentions 418 horses in Boston. Post letters had been enjoyed from an early time; a regular postmaster was appointed in 1677, and a post office established in 1704. In 1710, under an Act of Parliament, which established a General Post Office in North America, the rate upon letters to England was one shilling, a rate which was not changed until seventy-five years ago. It is quite natural that the Boston Post Office should have been the place where the first American newspaper to be permanently established was published. This was the Boston "News-Letter," founded in 1704, by John Campbell, the postmaster at that time. In 1719 a second news sheet was launched, both of which lived through the whole of the provincial period, the former continuing until 1776, the latter to 1780.

The picture of Boston in 1763, the wealthy capital of a vast province, is a pleasing one, but there were clouds hanging over its future. Its political position was strong, but the political relations with England were going from bad to worse. There had been a progressive increase in the pressure placed upon the province, through the administrations of the governors, to make it more amenable to autocratic control. The Peace of Paris (1763) gave England a place of undisputed supremacy among the powers of Europe. It was unlikely that she would longer bear with the insubordination of one of her colonies. Then, too, the supremacy had been secured at the expense of an exhausted treasury. The American colonies were known to have gained in population and means; they had the ability to pay large sums to the Crown. They were contrary and complaining, but believed to be loyal. America must be made to pay the war bills of the King. Boston, for the most part, was loyal, more so than many parts of the province. There was a large party in the town committed to the idea of a government under the direct authority

of the Crown. The opposing element went no further than to insist on the right to self-government under the Crown. The inhabitants were English in birth or descent and sincerely cherished an affection for the mother country which was not reciprocated. The province might be persuaded to pay large sums to England, but it could not be forced, certainly not while it was unrepresented in the Parliament which imposed taxes.

Commercial Competition Takes a Hand—The difficulties might have been adjusted had not the commercial element entered so deeply into the political. There are some historians who insist that the Revolution was mainly a commercial affair, and put forth many facts to bolster up their contention. The prosperity of Boston was based on its commerce, that is certain. The Massachusetts Company, which founded the town, was a business concern. Boston, as the years went by, grew rich from her ships and her shipping. The Earl of Bellomont, the second of the provincial governors, made the statement that "there were more ships belonging to the town of Boston than to all Scotland and Ireland." A report of 1750 mentions "900 vessels engaged in the various branches of their trade at sea." The town and the province manufactured but little, partly because they could afford to buy what they needed, but more because they were prevented from doing so by English restrictions. What was grown or what was taken from the sea was in demand by all nations. It is not to be overlooked that ships were built in this country, and that manufacturing was being tried out in many places. England had a Board of Trade, a powerful organization devised originally by Charles II and reestablished by William III, which, although but an advisory council, did regulate colonial commerce. It was appointed and intended to make the colonies "auxiliary to English trade; the Englishman in America was to be employed in making the fortune of the Englishman at home." There is no question of the mischief caused by this Board of Trade in the affairs of the colonies. Nor can one doubt that the repressive acts which preceded and led to the Revolution were "acts in the restraint of trade." But that the Revolution was mainly a "trade war," a "strife for commercial supremacy," has yet to be proven.

As the situation stood, in the later years of the provincial period, there was England supreme in Europe, rich in prestige but poor in means, and New England wealthy but restive under restraint. The commercial classes were becoming increasingly arrayed against each other. The kindling was in place to start a great fire, it needed but a spark to light it. The surprising thing is that the match was applied so often before this country burst into the flames of revolution. The first sparks of the conflagration held little that was extraordinary in them. There had been

a policy in the treatment of the colonies in force for a long time which had three lines of pressure. There was the "Acts of Trade" rule by which England retained for her merchants the best of commerce and exchange. Again, English troops having been sent to America during the French wars, it was expected that the colonies should provide a part of the cost of this soldiery. And third, there was soon to be practiced the keeping of permanent British garrisons in America.

It is possible that Massachusetts would have borne with these policies had they been enforced in more tactful ways. Navigation laws had interfered with its commerce; additional restraints were practiced. Taxes had been paid for years by all of the colonies; now they were not only to be increased, but England began to emphasize the fact that these taxes were imposed less for the securing of revenue than to make America realize their subservience to England. And, although the French had been conquered in this country, and the powers abroad had been subdued by the British, more troops were sent to America and billeted upon an unwilling people. The Townshend and Grenville ministries both advocated the abrogation of colonial charters, and urged a scheme of the taxation of peoples to whom representation was neither granted nor considered. That both ministers proved failures did not offset the bitter hatred the knowledge of their policies aroused on this side of the ocean.

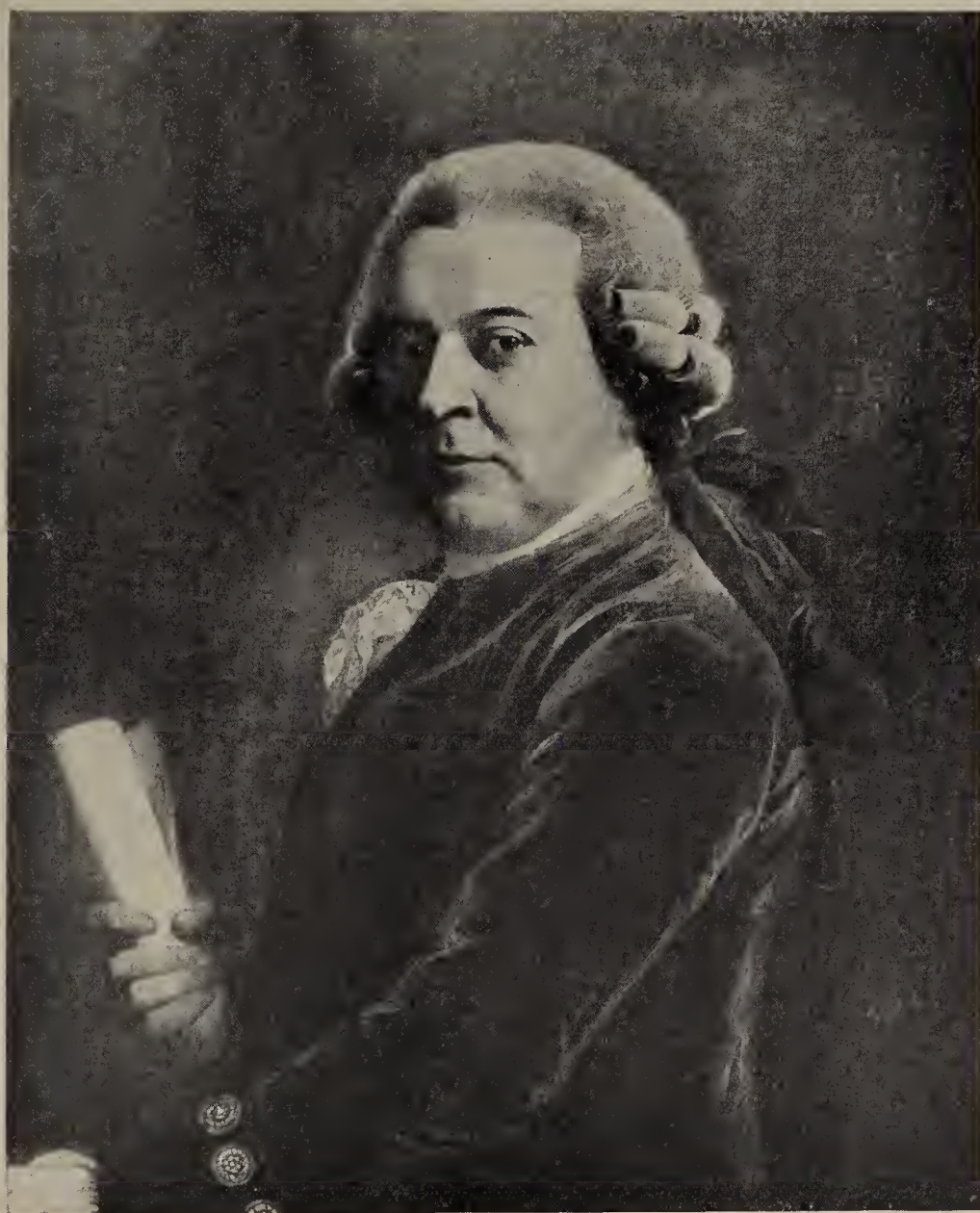
Repressive Measures Leading to Revolt—In 1764, Parliament reënacted the Molasses Act of 1733, in such terms as to protect the British West Indian planters as against the northern colonies. The Massachusetts General Court protested the act on the ground that its effect would be to close the markets in both the West Indies and in Europe against New England fish, "thus rendering useless vessels worth £100,000, and throwing 5,000 seamen out of work." Boston had become also quite a distillery center, making rum from molasses. This business was greatly injured by the "Sugar Act."

In 1765 the long dreaded stamp act came into effect, an act which came to be the symbol of the usurpation of just rights. This law, although consisting of many parts, had for its essential feature the requirement that all legal and business documents in the colonies must be written on printed or stamped paper, which could be secured only from tax collectors. All offenses under the act were to be tried in the admiralty courts, and all taxes were to be collected arbitrarily without trial by jury. Had this act been passed by the colonial assemblies and the duties levied by them, there is little doubt that the American people would have been glad to send to the British government the sums it needed. But the colonies were given no voice in the government which imposed the duties, nor share in the authority which collected them.

Boston's Reaction to the Stamp Act—Boston was hit hardest of the American settlements by the stamp act and the most riotous in the expression of its objections to it. The birthday of the Prince of Wales, in August, usually celebrated as a holiday, was made the occasion for the first hostile demonstration. Crowds gathered in the street shouting "Pitt and Liberty." Two days later, August 14, the effigies of Andrew Oliver and the Earl of Bute were hanged on the Liberty Tree in the lower part of the town. Bute was the prime minister; Oliver, the son-in-law of Governor Hutchinson, had been appointed stamp distributor. Hutchinson ordered the removal of the effigies, but nothing was done until evening, when the Sons of Liberty, who had perpetrated the deed, took them down and, at the head of a great mob, marched to the Old State House, where the Governor and his advisers were assembled, shouting a cry which was often to be repeated, "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps." Then the mob proceeded to Fort Hill, where Oliver lived, and burned the effigies. This was but the beginning of a period of rioting which culminated in the sacking of Hutchinson's home and the destruction of much that was valuable both to the Governor and to the province.

The rioting was later repeated, but few of the better class of Boston's patriots seem to have been involved in these affairs. Samuel Adams wrote of it as "high-handed outrages," and gave his attention to more effective measures. In the Massachusetts Assembly, Adams introduced a series of fourteen resolves, asserting the inherent and inalienable rights of the people. "These resolves met with great favor, and were extensively printed and quoted throughout the country." On October 7, the first American Congress ever held, composed of delegates from the different colonies, met in New York to take into consideration their rights, privileges and grievances. This congress passed several resolutions, the gist of which were that Americans ought to be given the right to trial by jury, and the right to freedom from taxation except through the colonial assemblies. It also consummated what was a virtual union of the colonies. To James Otis must be given the credit for proposing the calling of the congress.

Rejoicing Over the Repeal of the Stamp Act—When, in November, the attempt was made to enforce the stamp act in spite of the objections which had been made, rioting broke out again. In Boston the church bells were tolled, the vessels in the harbor hung their flags at half-mast, effigies, this time of Grenville and Huske, were hanged on the Liberty Tree. A general boycott was proclaimed, clearance papers were refused to shipmasters, and courts of law suspended. The example set by Boston was followed by the colonies in general. The depression which hung over America was soon dissipated. The venerable Pitt rose in the House



JOHN ADAMS (Portrait by Copley)

of Commons and made his famous plea for the repeal of the act; petitions were sent to the House from merchant organizations in the English cities who quickly realized the harm being done to their business; and Benjamin Franklin was summoned before the bar of the Commons and for ten days and examined on colonial affairs. The upshot of the proceedings was the repeal of the Stamp Act, March 17, 1766. London was delighted and Boston received the news with every demonstration of joy. "The Liberty Tree was decked with lanterns; bells and guns, flags and music, illuminations and fireworks, proclaimed in unmistakable language the gratitude and loyalty of the people."

Depression Caused by the Declaratory Act—The joy of the people over the repeal of one act blinded them to the full meaning of another which accompanied. To save the face of the English Government the Declaratory Act had been passed, which asserted the right of Parliament to tax the American colonies "in all cases whatever." This was precisely the principal against which the colonies were arrayed. The act, once its significance had been realized, aroused in Massachusetts a new and greater apprehension and resentment. One historian dates the revolt of the colonies from 1766, the year of the Declaratory Act. How it was to be applied to colonial affairs was soon made manifest. Charles Townshend, by a change in the British ministry, selected as chancellor of the exchequer, managed to push through Parliament his famous "revenue bill," which provided for taxes on certain articles of import, including tea. The pill was sugar-coated, by making the taxes small, and by directing that the proceeds should go toward the payment of the salaries of governors and judges in America. But the medicine was refused. All over the colonies rose the cry, "No taxation without representation." At a town meeting of Boston it was declared "We will form an immediate and universal combination to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing, imported from Great Britain. . . . Our strength consists in union; let us above all be of one heart and one mind; let us call our sister colonies to join us in asserting our rights." English exports to New England dropped forty-eight per cent. in one year.

The merchants of England failed to come to the aid of the provinces this time as they had before. Instead, sailors and soldiers were sent to enforce the law, or at least to overawe the colonials into submission. Two regiments with artillery arrived in Boston in September of 1768. The selectmen, acting within the law, refused to provide any other quarters for the troops than the regular barracks on Castle Island. They were marched to the common and for the most part encamped there or in Faneuil Hall. Boston was a garrisoned town from this time until Wash-

ington forced the British to leave eight years later. The presence of the soldiers was a source of continual irritation to the inhabitants of the town. Clashes between the troops and the townspeople were frequent. The climax was reached in a riot of March 5, 1770, the date of the "Boston Massacre." The tale of this is told elsewhere in this work and needs no repetition. The influence of this event upon the growing sentiment for complete colonial independence was very great. "On that night," wrote John Adams, a year later, "the formation of American Independence was laid." Webster says of the incident: "From that moment we may date the severance of the British empire."

The "Tea Party"—Another crisis came in the affairs of Boston in 1773 with the arrival of ships from England with cargoes of specially priced teas. There had been such an accumulation of tea in England owing to the refusal of American merchants to import it, that The East India Company, which had a practical monopoly of the sea trade, obtained the right to remit the export duty from England of one shilling per pound on teas exported to America. But the King, "who had Boston on the brain," had insisted on the retention of a three pence duty to be paid by the colonial receivers. The East India Company, since, even with the duty, it could sell tea in this country at a lower price than to other countries, thought to unload its accumulations in America. The attempt was resented in all the entry ports. Boston expressed its displeasure with a "Tea Party." A party of Bostonians disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded three tea ships and tossed three hundred and forty-two chests of tea into the harbor.

This violent rejection of the only tax now remaining not only stirred America to greater efforts for independence, but it aroused a more determined spirit in England that the authority of the Crown should be maintained at all costs, and that any act in violation of this must be punished. Boston as the ringleader had to bear the brunt of the punishment which followed. The Boston Port Act was passed by Parliament in March, 1774, which provided that Boston should cease to be a port of entry, after the first of June, unless the town would indemnify the East India Company for the loss of its teas; and furthermore, that the administrative offices of the colony should be removed to Salem.

The Port Bill—The Port Act was followed by the Regulating Act, which abrogated the charter given by King William III, in 1692. Under its regulations the councillors were made the appointees of the Crown and paid by it; the town meeting was practically abolished and with it passed all semblance of legal local self-government. "The effect of the changes would be to concentrate all the power in the hands of the Gov-

ernor, leaving no check to his arbitrary will. It would, in short, transform Massachusetts into an absolute despotism such as under which no Englishman had ever lived." A third act provided for the trial abroad of anyone questioning the new laws. The fourth provided for the quartering of troops upon the inhabitants of towns, and was evidently intended to establish a military government over Massachusetts. The fifth had to do with the government of Canada. To enforce these coercive measures, General Gage, the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's troops in America, was sent to Boston. He set up the tents of his regiments upon the common, mounted cannon on the surrounding hills, and renewed the fortifications at the Necke. The Siege of Boston is usually written of as an affair of eleven months' duration. It actually began when Gage took possession of the town in May, 1773, and did not end until March, 1776. Gage was the appointee as Governor of the province of Massachusetts, but he never ruled a region larger than the ground upon which his soldiers were stationed.

Meanwhile, the Port Bill, which went into effect on June 1, 1774, brought Boston face to face with ruin. Not only was its commerce at an end, but so drastic were the provisions of the act that the movement of boats from wharf to wharf, or to the islands in the harbor, was interdicted. Even the ferry to Charlestown was stopped, nor could a scow go to Dorchester. Business was prostrated; all classes felt "the scourge of the oppressor." The town meeting took measures to meet the exigency. "A committee of Ways and Means was appointed to succor the poor of the town, and various public works to provide them with employment were authorized." Through a Committee of Correspondence an appeal was made to the other colonies "to stop all Importations from Great Britain and Exportations to Great Britain and every part of the West Indies till the Act for Blocking up this Harbor be repealed." Expressions of sympathy poured in from other sections. Supplies of food and money were sent by the other colonies as well as the nearby districts. Salem and Marblehead scorned to profit by the sufferings of their neighbor, and offered the free use of their wharves and stores.

The Siege of Boston—General Gage soon realized the futility of trying to pacify a now thoroughly incensed town. The time for reasoning was past. He applied for more troops, strengthened his fortifications, seized the powder and arms belonging to the town, all he could find, and from his position in Boston reached out to take any and all military supplies in the province. He reached out once too often and too far, and precipitated at Lexington and Concord the strife which neither King nor Province desired. Parliament had thought that "By punishing Boston, all America would be struck with a panic." Edmund Burke assured that

body that "the cause of Boston is become the cause of all America. By these acts of oppression, you have made Boston the Lord Mayor of America."

The events at Lexington and Concord, and the Battle of Bunker Hill, are matters of military history, and will not be related here. After them, Boston became a beleaguered town, and suffered as only such a place could suffer. Washington one hot day in July of 1775 took over the command of the "embattled farmers" who had shut Gage within the town. It was long months before he could build, or make over, a force sufficiently strong to drive the British troops from the peninsula. General Howe had been sent to the aid of Gage, but he did not fight his way out, neither could Washington fight his way in, or perhaps he would not, lest Boston be destroyed. It was not until March 17, 1776, that the long siege of Boston came to its undramatic end.

The changes wrought in Boston by the "Siege" were both many and dire. As the largest, most prosperous, most prominent place in America, it had provided the stage, the actors, and the inspiration of the opening scenes in the drama of the Revolution. Says Cabot: "The heroic period in the history of the town in its corporate capacity closed when Washington marched in at the head of his army, and Lord Howe sailed out of Boston Harbor. In the years preceding that event Boston had been the most important name in the long list of English possessions. It had figured in the newspapers, in the conferences of cabinets and the debates of Parliament, with unrivalled frequency. It had lighted the flame of resistance, endured the first stroke of angry rulers, and had witnessed the first disaster to the British arms. During the Revolution, Boston—untouched after the first shock of war had passed away—had her share of glory and suffering; but she ceased to be the central point of resistance, or to attract further the attention of England and Europe."

The Beleaguered Town—The Siege of Boston, following closely as it did upon the heels of a series of reprisals which had completely checked commerce, reduced Boston to the lowest depths of weakness and despond. The population that had approached twenty thousand was little more than six in 1775, and the census taken by the colony in 1776 showed but two thousand seven hundred and nineteen. It was more than a decade before the number of inhabitants reached former numbers. The destruction of commerce was but one of the factors in the depletion of Boston's population. Disease had been prevalent, famine played some part; but the principal cause had been the hegira of the patriots in the Colonial Army and to the parts of the country where they could be free to serve against England, and the hurried departure of the Loyalists to Halifax and elsewhere at the close of the siege, which left Boston inhabited by

so few. Horace E. Scudder explains that: "The population which remained in Boston, when the town was fully beleaguered, consisted of the garrison and its immediate camp-following; the Crown officers with their households; a society of Tories, rich and well bred, many of whom had sought refuge in the town; a considerable body of poor people, whose sympathies were principally with the Patriots; and a few citizens who, belonging to the popular party, remained either to perform their offices as ministers or doctors, or to protect, as far as possible, their own property and that of their connections. Our sources of information regarding the common life of the town are derived from letters, journals, from representatives of these several classes, and from the scanty chronicles preserved in the meagre 'Boston News-Letter,' the only paper published during the siege, which was in the Tory interest. . . . In the matter of shelter, the gentlemen and ladies of the Royal cause took possession of houses which had been deserted by prominent citizens, or were welcomed by those who remained with satisfaction in their own homes. Hancock's house was occupied by General Clinton; Burgoyne was in the Bowdoin mansion; and Lord Percy in the Gardiner Greene house; Gage and his successor, Howe, took possession, in turn, of the Province House. The officers found lodgings in the aristocratic boarding-houses, which long after this period were the resort of persons who wished a more dignified and comfortable resting place than the taverns afforded. The troops were disposed in barracks in different parts of the town; and the general aspect of the place was altered by the exigencies of the situation. A number of buildings were taken down near old Hay-Market . . . the old South church was used as a riding-school for the light dragoons, and other meeting-houses for barracks. The Old North Meeting-house was pulled down for fuel, and over a hundred houses were destroyed for the same purpose."

Before we condemn too severely these depredations it is well to recall that this is the picture of a besieged town. Colonial troops hedged in a population of perhaps twenty thousand people, garrison and townsfolk. The control of the harbor outlets by the British vessels was one in theory rather than in fact, for the naval ships had hovering about them privateersmen who greatly harassed all entering shipping. To supply food for so many was beyond the capacity of the military authorities; as for fuel, none arrived and the winter was bitter, the older houses had to go to keep folk warm and to cook their food. There were many disgraceful, wanton acts of oppression and destruction, characterizing the occupation of the town by Gage, but it was war, and the general was too busy with his troops, a turbulent, lawless lot, to have much time for the protection of the material affairs of the town.

The Havoc Wrought by the Revolution—There were further scenes of destruction during the hasty departure of the British Army and the Tories. The deserted Boston was sadly unlike its former busy prosperous self. Church life was revived almost at once, but commercial, populous Boston was not. Washington and his army had to hasten elsewhere. The town could not be properly garrisoned or protected. None knew how soon the enemy might return with an increased force and the later condition be worse than the former. Whatever the reasons, few returned to Boston during the war. Although the Revolution brought no further warfare to Boston, the city was subject to more than one alarm, and did not settle down to peace and work until Rochambeau with his fleet and forces entered the place after the surrender at Yorktown. With that year, 1781, began the revival of Boston's interests, and the beginning of that steady growth in population which has continued unto the present day.

All through the Revolution, the political leadership, or actual government of Massachusetts, was resident in other towns than Boston. The first Provincial Congress was held in Concord and Cambridge in October, 1774, after having waited at Salem the week before for the Governor to meet with the council. John Hancock was chosen president and Benjamin Lincoln secretary. This body voted that no more taxes should be paid to the Royal treasury; assessments were arranged for the payment of the military preparations made for opposition to the further rule of the King. Although war had not begun, the province was really already in a state of rebellion, and without any legal civil government. This Congress, like the second (February 1, 1775, at Cambridge), and others, was merely a body making suggestions, but whose suggestions had the force of laws. If one were to summarize the political status of Massachusetts during the Revolutionary period, from 1775 to 1780, one must characterize it as being in a state of armed rebellion, with adherence given to the Declaration of Independence, with a revolutionary government carried on by a Council and House of Representatives, the members of which were elected annually by the people; the seat of government being located in the most conveniently located place.

The Town Meeting Revived—The Regulating Act of 1774 had forbidden the holding of town meetings without the written consent of the royal Governor, so that such meetings were comparatively rare for the following few years. One held in Boston on May 23, 1776, voted:

"That if the Honble Continental Congress should for the safety of the Colonies, declare them Independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they, the Inhabitants, will solemnly engage with their Lives and Fortunes to support them in the Measure."

Three days more than a complete year later, May 26, in reply to the recommendation of the House of Representatives that the town instruct its representatives to act with the council in forming a Constitution of Government, Boston unanimously voted contrary-wise, desiring that "This matter at a suitable time will properly come before the people at large to delegate a select number for that purpose, and that alone." The form of Government, known as the Constitution of 1778, when submitted to the voters of Boston, was rejected unanimously at the town meeting, because it had not been framed by a convention chosen by the people for that purpose. One thing was made clear, Boston, and Massachusetts was with it, was determined that while a new Constitution was desired, only one formed by an enlarged town meeting which included delegates from the whole province would be accepted.

First Constitutional Convention Held—This determined stand brought about the gathering together in 1779 of the first Constitutional Convention to be held anywhere. James Bowdoin, of Boston, was the first president, and the town was represented by twelve delegates. The first meeting was held at Cambridge, September 1, 1779, but the most of the later sessions were held in the Old State House; and it was in this building that the first General Court of the *State* of Massachusetts was organized, October 25, 1780. Submitted to the people, it was duly ratified, again being unique in that it was the first State Constitution adopted in America by the votes of the people. The Massachusetts Constitution and Declaration of Rights of 1780 is one of the most remarkable documents of its time, "a monument to the intellectual elevation as well as to the wisdom, sagacity, and breadth of view of the statesmen who modeled and the people who accepted it." John and Samuel Adams, Bowdoin, Hancock, Lowell, Parsons, Cabot, Sullivan, Cushing and many others had a part in the creation of this document, but "John Adams was the chief architect." On September 4, 1780, the first State election under the Constitution was held and John Hancock was elected Governor, he, who had been the president of the Continental Congress, and the first signer of the Declaration of Independence, whose bold signature is one of the only two now visible on the original parchment.

The Rehabilitation of the Hub—All this while Boston was valiantly striving to get back some of the former attributes which had made it the most important town in America. The population had increased; it is estimated that its inhabitants numbered 10,000 in 1781 and 15,000 in 1784. Business was waking up, commerce began to brighten the harbor with the sails of ships, there was renewed bustle and life in the streets, but the rehabilitation of the town was to be a long, hard process. The peace

of 1783 found the town and the State thoroughly disorganized, almost on verge of anarchy. The State was three million of pounds in debt, an enormous amount for the times. Private individuals were almost as badly off, insolvency was general, for the currency had depreciated to the minus point, private credit was crushed, the poor were doubly poor since the methods of forcing them to pay what they owed tended to place them in jail, where they had no prospect of ever paying their debts. The State tax collector claimed priority for State taxes, while the individual creditor sought to force payment through the courts.

The economic conditions after the end of the Revolution were so thoroughly bad as to threaten the stability of the loosely connected National Government. Massachusetts, in this crisis, was again to be the advance guard of revolt, but not with any honor to her name. The so-called "Shays' Rebellion" was the culmination of an insurrection which not only threatened the existence of the Commonwealth, but shook to its foundations the unstable fabric of the confederacy. The "Rebellion" was nothing more than a popular uprising of a poverty-stricken people against a State form of government which would not, or could not, come to their aid. It was, to some extent, an outbreak of the agriculturist against the monied class, of the State against Boston. The adoption of the State Constitution had been by a vote of only about 13,000; seventy-six towns returned no vote at all, and probably only about one out of five possible voters in Massachusetts exercised his right. One of the objections to the new Constitution was that by doubling the property qualification for voting, a great number had been deprived of the franchise, and it was feared with a Legislature making harsh and even unjust laws which "favored the creditor rather than the debtor," a "ruling class" would be created whose tyranny would be worse than that of a King and Parliament.

Shays' Rebellion—The Shays movement started in the western part of the State, and gathered strength as it spread east. At its height, it is estimated that more than half of the residents of the Commonwealth were either actively engaged, or were sympathizers, in the Rebellion. Says Henry Cabot Lodge: "While the storm was gathering, John Hancock, the popular hero and Governor, not fancying the prospect opening before the State, and the consequent difficulties and dangers likely to beset the chief magistrate, took himself out of the way, and the younger and more conservative element in politics elected James Bowdoin in his stead. Bowdoin was a wise and courageous man, perfectly ready to sacrifice popularity, if need be, to the public good. He was warmly supported in Boston, as the principles and objects of Shays and his followers were peculiarly obnoxious to the business community. The alarm in the

town was great, for it looked as if their contest for freedom was about to result in anarchy. The young men came forward, armed themselves, and volunteered for service; but the Governor's firmness was all that was needed. General Lincoln, at the head of the militia, easily crushed the feeble mob gathered by Shays."

As Lodge and other historians have pointed out, the most important results of the Shays' Rebellion were the promotion of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, and making the people of this country see the necessity of establishing a National form of government suited to the needs of the country at large. Boston was the scene of the protracted struggle in the convention which was held to consider the adoption of the Constitution submitted to the State by the National Convention. Public opinion was against the idea of a strong central government; "moreover, the great leaders of the Revolutionary period, Hancock and Adams, were lukewarm." The Constitution was adopted in 1788, Massachusetts being the sixth of the thirteen States to take such action. The event was celebrated by Boston with one of those fetes for which it is noted. During the autumn of the next year, President Washington visited the town, an event which furthered the loyalty of Massachusetts to the Union.

At the Close of the Eighteenth Century—By 1790, Boston had come again to her own, as far as population was concerned, the United States census of that year crediting her with 18,320. In 1800, the number of inhabitants had risen to 24,937; in 1810, to 33,787, these latter figures including 519 on the islands and 354 in South Boston. In 1791, there were 2,376 dwellings in the town and several hundred buildings coming in this class. As yet, there had been few changes in the topography of Boston, the inhabited portion being confined mainly to the original square mile of peninsula. There was still a beacon on Beacon Hill, or was until 1789, when it was blown down and a monument built in its place. Its slopes were used for pasturing cows, as was the common until after Boston had been a city government for some years. Prior to the close of the century no street had been laid out west of Pleasant Street and the common. Boston was still a very compact town, but the seat of many fine residences and business establishments. The "aristocracy" of the State was again making the capital its home, which was one of the reasons for the jealousy and fear of the other parts of the State. The business and building operations of the "Boston Aristocracy" were, nevertheless, the foundation on which the prosperity of the Commonwealth was to be rebuilt.

In 1786, a stock company built the first bridge to Charlestown, a notable bit of engineering for that day. Seven years later the West Boston Bridge to Cambridge was erected. In 1795, two acres of former Governor Hancock's cow pasture was purchased for the Commonwealth,

and on it was begun the construction of the State House designed by Bulfinch. The laying of the corner-stone took place on July 4, 1795, with Paul Revere and others of the Grand Lodge of Masons assisting His Excellency, Samuel Adams, Governor. The building, as completed in 1799, cost \$135,000, and was first occupied by the General Court of the Commonwealth January 11, 1798. The gash cut in Beacon Hill by the erection of the State House paved the way for one of the "fills" which now make so large a part of the area of Boston. Beginning about 1804 the Mill Pond Corporation had been using some of the gravel of the hill in filling its pond. In 1811, the town sold what land it owned on Beacon Hill to Samuel Spear and John Hancock and much of the summit went into the mill pond.

The Industrial Situation—Prior to the Revolution, Boston had carried on a large shipbuilding industry, having twenty-seven dockyards at one time. This business never again played so proportionately a large part in the industries of the town, although the establishment of the Navy Yard in Charlestown, in 1798, gave quite an impetus to building trades in general. Rope-walks were numerous, and the making of cotton duck, aided by a bounty granted in 1789 by the General Court, was a very important business. Indeed, in 1789, there were three large plants manufacturing cottons and woolens, concerning one of which Washington wrote, after his visit in that year: "I went to a card manufactory, where I was informed there were about nine hundred hands." Paper had been one of the first manufactures turned out in Boston, and glass was also among the early products. Sugar refineries and rum distilleries had been started before the war; these industries still employed many but had waned during and since the Revolution. A number of minor industries might be mentioned, all of which combined had much to do with the development of the Boston of the decade preceding the end of the century, and the succeeding one. But not until the town was again to suffer the set-back which came from a breaking of political relations with England, was it to learn that upon manufacturing depended its growth and prosperity, and that its place in the Commonwealth was not so much that of being an industrial section, but rather the financial center providing the capital for the construction of manufacturing plants throughout the eastern part of the State, and the middleman who handled the products of the surrounding district and placed them in the markets. The later rise of commerce with the nations abroad, and the position held as the outlets of the railroads of the early part of the new century, all emphasized the place Boston was to hold in relation to the Commonwealth. Her political leadership was already a settled fact.

The Business Depression of the War of 1812—Boston was to learn many things from the War of 1812. The almost continuous state of war

which existed between England and France, from 1793 to 1815, so disrupted the trade of all nations that the United States, as the only important neutral with a strong merchant marine, reaped the fruits of this disorder, with her merchant service. Much of the harvest fell to New England and Boston. In 1807 the shipping of Boston totaled 310,309 tons, or more than a third of the mercantile marines of the United States. In 1810 the foreign and coastwise tonnage owned in Massachusetts was nearly half a million tons, or "more than the combined tonnage of the States of New York and Pennsylvania." Boston was not to enjoy her advantages for very long; the nations of Europe were not going to build up the commerce of America at an expense to themselves. Seizures on the high seas began to be made by the naval vessels of both France and England, although the latter mentioned nation was the only one in a position to actively engage in the interference with our maritime affairs. Condemnations in the English Admiralty Court became numerous and unfair; on the heels of this followed the oppressive Orders in Council. Boston urged the immediate declaration of war when an English ship fired upon one of our national vessels. President Jefferson, evidently thinking that the European nations were somehow dependent upon our shipping for their existence, placed an embargo on our trade with foreign ports. The effect of the embargo on Boston was stunning. "Her merchant ships rotted at their wharves, or were hauled out and dismantled. The busy shipyards were still and silent, and all who gained their living by them were thrown out of work. The fisheries were abandoned and agriculture was distressed. Ruin threatened the merchants, and poverty stared the laboring classes in the face. . . . The injuries inflicted by England were trifling in comparison with the total destruction of trade caused by the embargo." The embargo was modified in 1808 without appreciable benefit. The declaration of war in 1812 brought about a blockade of Boston which was even more disastrous to its shipping than had been the restrictions of Jefferson. One set of figures is illuminating. In 1814 the exports of Boston were valued at only \$118,285, a decrease of \$5,733,736 from 1811. In 1816, one year after peace was declared, the exports of Boston had risen to \$7,925,692. In addition to the commercial depression which had a hold on the town at this time, there was always the danger of attack by the British, whose naval policy was to make sudden descents in force upon the coastal towns. Boston was not only relatively unprotected from such attacks, but raged under the neglect of the National Government to send aid under the circumstances. Not wishing to suffer the fate of Washington, the town folk went busily to work to protect themselves. The old forts were put in order, and new ones constructed under the direction of the noted engineer, Loammi Baldwin.

The War of 1812, ruinous as it was in many ways to Boston, was a blessing, of sorts, to the town. Hitherto shipping had been one of the main stems of its prosperity; the destruction of trading facilities forced enterprise to seek other outlets. Capital had accumulated and lacked use even when the city was struggling with financial depression. This capital and enterprise entered new channels, of which manufacturing became the principal. Not that shipping and ship building ceased, for the revival of the foreign trade after 1814 created a demand for larger and faster vessels, and the rise of the clipper ship dates from this time. As late as 1850 the United States owned one-third of the tonnage of the world, and the most of this had been constructed in New England. Four East Boston shipyards in the year 1854 built thirty-nine vessels. The Boston clipper ship was the finest thing afloat, and she not only brought fame to the port from whence she sailed, but wealth in increasing amounts to the "merchants" who cargoesd her. But some of the moneys coming to the coffers of the merchants went out into factories, was expended in the promotion of manufacturing.

Attention Turns to Manufacturing—The business interests of Boston, even as late as 1830, were largely commercial, and its manufactories chiefly those which had to do with shipping and the equipment of vessels. The War of 1812 taught her capitalists the folly of putting too many eggs in a single basket, just as it impressed everyone with the necessity of becoming independent of England, in fact as well as politically. There was little hope for a nation—or a town—which could be so completely upset by the stoppage of intercourse with Great Britain. America must make for itself the thousand and one manufactured luxuries and necessities then made abroad. It was during the early years of the nineteenth century that the business interests of Boston changed, and the financial policies began to take on the aspects that now characterize them. Manufactures were stimulated, particularly in the making of textiles, and the needed capital provided. Lowell set up at Waltham, in 1814, the first cotton factory of the world which completed all the operations comprised in the weaving of cotton in a single establishment. A few years later saw the rise of Lowell, the first town in this country to be planned and built as an industrial center. Other industries sprang up in various parts of eastern New England; many manufacturing plants were established in or close to Boston. It was Boston capital which went into the factories, and started the greatest advance made in industries by the Commonwealth. In later years it was Boston capital which financed the railroads of the State, of the West, and even of the Republic of Mexico. Always there were large amounts put into commerce and shipping. The readiness with which the Boston capitalist now seeks new and far flung

investments is proverbial. The disposition was inherent in those who invested in the Massachusetts Bay Company, but the habit of investing well and boldly was acquired in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Political Changes—The financial and industrial changes in the progress of Boston were reflected in its politics. It had been a strong free-trade town; with infant industries on its hands. The town became staunchly protectionist. The town government had been under the control of the Federalists, that great party of Washington; with its former leaders either dead or retired, others had taken their place of a different political faith. Boston had continued under the town system of government for a decade less than two centuries. Efforts had been made to change this as far back as 1708, when a committee was appointed to "draft a charter of incorporation," for the better government of the town. Three-quarters of a century later another attempt was made "to form the town of Boston into an incorporated city." From this time on the question was agitated every few years, but without result.

The "town" had become a fetish in the Bostonian mind, and the conservatism of the town's voters refused to consider any radical change in the form of government. It was something passed down by the "fathers" and good enough then, even though Boston had grown to have a population of forty-five thousand, the largest number of people in the United States still governed as a town. The system had undergone many changes since the Puritan days, it had grown up in an irregular way and was full of make-shifts. It was no longer fitted for the management of so important a place as the Capital of the Commonwealth, and the industrial and financial center of New England. Yet the town was an unique form of government, similar but unlike any known to the Old World. It was one admirably adapted to a small homogeneous community. It had worked well for nearly two centuries, and still held together well in spite of being covered with patches. No wonder the system was held in fond affection. But it was time for it to be replaced; and anyway Boston had never been formally organized as a town. All that had been done was the changing of its name from Tri-mountaine to Boston by the Court of Assistants in 1630, which act was later "construed by the courts to be sufficient to entitle it from that time forward to all the privileges of a town."

The Town Becomes a City—In 1821 the charter movement won recognition, and on April 29, 1821, the Constitution of the Commonwealth was amended to permit of the establishment of a city form of government. On February 23, 1822, the Governor signed the act establishing the city of Boston, and on March 4 of the same year, the still reluctant voters of the town accepted the charter—2,797 in the affirmative and 1,881 in the

negative. The new city government was organized in Faneuil Hall on May 1, 1822. The debt transferred to the city from the town amounted to about \$100,000, and was incurred on the account of two prisons building and a new courthouse. The first city hall was the present Old State House. John Phillips was the first mayor and Josiah Quincy the second and the more notable. The history of Boston under the mayors is outlined in a later chapter, and the political history of Boston as a city is the subject of still another chapter.

For one hundred and ninety-two years after its foundation Boston was a town. With its beginning a trading company created a Puritan Commonwealth which endured more than half a century. It survived the degradation to a Crown Province, a condition which held for more than eighty years. So great was the vitality of the town that was able to lead in the Revolution which freed not only itself, but thirteen fellow-colonies, and later to throw the weight of her influence to the side of the union which brought into strength the United States. Boston suffered from the vicissitudes of fortune as did few other towns in our country, but emerged battered and spent at times, to become the "life center of New England, its great mart, the principal seat of industry, the port of entry. . . . In learning and art its first rank was undisputed." Boston, in 1821, has been truthfully described as the "most populous and illustrious town in the world."

Perhaps no better tribute has been paid her than that of Ralph Waldo Emerson:

This town of Boston has a history. . . . Its annals are great historical lines, inextricably national; part of the history of political liberty. . . . America is growing like a cloud, towns on towns, States on States; and wealth (always interesting, since from wealth power cannot be divorced) is piled in every form invented for comfort or pride. . . . Moral values become also money values. When men saw that these people, besides their industry and thrift, had a heart and soul and would stand by each other at all hazards, they desired to come and live here. A house in Boston was worth as much again as a house just as good in a town of timorous people, because here the neighbors would defend each other against bad governors and against troops; quite naturally house rents rose in Boston. Besides, youth and health like a stirring town, above a torpid place where nothing is doing. In Boston they were sure to see something going forward before the year was out. For here was the moving principle itself, the *primum mobile*, a living mind agitating the mass and always afflicting the conservative class with some odious novelty or other; a new religious sect, a political point, a point of honor, a reform in education, a philanthropy. . . . There never was wanting some thorn of dissent and innovation and heresy to prick the sides of conservatism. . . . Here stands today as of yore our little city of the rocks; here let it stand forever, on the man-bearing granite of the North. Let her stand fast by herself. She has grown great. She is filled with strangers, but she can only prosper by adhering to her faith. Let every child that is born of her and every child of her adoption see to it to keep the name of Boston as clean as the sun; and in distant ages her motto shall be the prayer of millions on all the hills that gird the town, "As with our Fathers, so God be with us." "*Sicut Patribus, Sit Deus Nobis!*"

CHAPTER III.

REVIEW OF EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY.

The settlement of Massachusetts, as we have seen, was the result of a carefully thought out plan, directed by capable men with an abiding purpose. In the founding there was leadership, a reasonable amount of wealth, religion. The founders were Englishmen familiar with the government of their native country, loving it even when they disapproved of its ways and rulers. They were Puritans who had engaged in the early stages of that struggle between the Crown and the hierarchy, on one side, and the Parliamentary party on the other; and the struggle in 1629 seemed to be one destined to have no end or favorable result. The Puritans were striving for reform in the church and State, but the hope of success, as far as the homeland was concerned, was rapidly passing into a desperate feeling of failure. They must look elsewhere for the possible realization of their dreams of a purified church. The success of the Pilgrim settlement turned the attention of the leaders upon this new land. Here, it seemed, might be erected a religious Commonwealth, a State wherein God should rule. They neither thought or spoke of this State as a Commonwealth; possibly the word "theocracy" more truly conveys their intention—a Christian State, which should bear the same relation to the whole Bible, as its statute-book, as the Jewish Commonwealth bore to the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

The desire for Religious Freedom—The company that was formed to make the great experiment in the New World, was nominally a trading company with headquarters in England. The Massachusetts Bay Company and Governor derived certain defined rights and privileges from a patent purchased by them from the "Grand Council of Plymouth," confirmed to them by a royal charter. The selfsame week that this charter was granted by Charles I saw the dissolution of a Parliament which had no successor for a decade. Under the circumstances, it was quite easy for the charter, contrary to its manifest intent, to be transferred to Massachusetts, and what was to be a simple trading company transformed into a Puritan Commonwealth, set up and administered far from England. The dream of a theocratic State composed of like-minded believers, and based on an interpretation of the laws of the primitive Israelites, had its chance to be realized. Perhaps never has there been in the world a better opportunity to make the experiment of a theocracy than fell to the lot of the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Company. That the experiment failed, that the dream ended in disaster when Charles I revoked their

charter and compelled the toleration of the sects they abhorred, Quakers, Baptists and Anglicans, does not lessen the boldness of the idea nor the courage of the attempt. The Commonwealth crumbled beneath the assaults of enemies at home and abroad; under the restored Stuarts it was reduced to the status of a Crown Colony. But the Puritans builded better than they knew for they laid the foundations of the free State of Massachusetts.

For a half century the Puritans held sway, a time sufficient to not only indelibly mark the spirit of community, but to impress upon it a character that three centuries have not been able to efface. The Boston of today is a hundred fold larger in the number of its inhabitants than the little town of 7,000 at the end of the Puritan reign; the present city is the home of many races and religions, the fires of Puritanism burn low, but have never been extinguished. Boston is a unique city, and is so because of its founders. From the political side, "The framework and constitution of its government is full of ghosts that have never been completely laid since they first began to walk in that fateful half century, 1634-84."

The Union of Church and State—The political aspects of the Puritan theocracy do not concern us here, neither need there be any attempt to analyze its purposes and failure. Attention must be confined to the religious phase of the experiment, for to the Puritans must we go for the early history of the religions and churches of Boston. Five years after Governor Winthrop had located on the peninsula that was to be the principal settlement and the capital of the Commonwealth, the frank avowal was made in reply to certain English authorities that the Puritan State was founded on and was identical with the Puritan church; that membership in the church (and there was only one considered as such) was a pre-requisite to the right to vote; and that the only magistrates who could be established in office must be "men fearing God," those "chosen out of their brethren," by "saints." The "church," therefore, was before and above all other organizations or things, above Kings and worldly authorities. With this view, it is natural that one of the first efforts of each community was the forming of a church, and the earliest of the public buildings to be erected was a "meeting-house." Most of the towns established in the first century were formed for the purpose of having some sort of an organization wherewith to care for a meeting-house and a minister. Grants of land were made by the "Court" often on the condition that continued possession of them was contingent upon the erection of a meeting-house and the settlement of a pastor.

The First Church of Boston Organized—In Boston a meeting-house was in the course of construction while the newly-landed colonists were starving, doubtful of the arrival of any ship bringing supplies before they



THE JOHN HANCOCK HOUSE

died. Only a few weeks after the arrival, at Charlestown, after appropriate exercises, Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Isaac Johnson and John Wilson adopted and signed the following simple church covenant:

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinances:

"We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and holy Providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts; and desirous to unite in one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, dō hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual respect and love to each other, so near as God shall give us grace."

The First Meeting-house—The church thus formed is now the First Church of Boston, and one of its prized possessions is an embossed silver cup with "The gift of Governor Jn^o Winthrop to y^e 1^t Church." When the colonists removed to "tra-montane," the first meeting-house, built with mud walls and thatched roof, was located on the south side of what is now State Street, near the corner of Devonshire, and John Wilson was installed as "Teacher." The primitive structure was succeeded by a much more pretentious building, on Washington Street, opposite the head of State, which stood until its destruction by fire in October, 1711. A new building was immediately erected upon the same spot, but was used for services only in May, 1713. It was a solidly constructed brick edifice of the plain architecture of its period. Here was installed the first church organ ever heard in Boston. In 1808 this building was sold to John Joy for \$13,500 in money, and the cost of a new church in Chauncey Place. The present strikingly beautiful edifice in the Back Bay District replaced that of Chauncey Place in 1868. So much for the lineal descendants of the mud and thatch meeting-house of the First Church in Boston.

Other churches followed the First, although there was no other until two decades later. It would be well, however, before going further into the matter of church organization, particularly in view of the difficulties in which the early church became enmeshed, to ask: What was the material and constitution of the Puritan church, the base upon which the very existence of the Theocracy was built and depended? As defined and explained by one historian:

The Constitution of the Puritan Church—"Seven or more professing Christians, associating themselves together in covenant, constitute a

church for all uses of Christian edification and enjoyment of ordinances; nothing being between them and Christ. The Bible is their sole sufficient sanction, guide, and statute-book. In the sacred volume are to be found divine directions for the administration and discipline of the Church, a commission and instructions for its teachers and officers, the matter of their teaching, the rule of believing and living for members, and the method of discipline. Men receive their authority and functions as ministers directly from God; their qualifications of heart, mind and spirit are from Him, in nowise dependent upon any allowance or transmitted privilege from their fellowmen. Such ministers, however, obtain an official position, opportunity to teach and temporal support, from the free choice of a congregation desiring their services. God commissions the man, but the people set him in his place over or among them. The Puritans found a vast and sublime confirmation of their fundamental idea in the grand assertion of St. Paul, that the Gospel made every Christian to represent to himself the two highest offices,—those of a ‘King and a Priest unto God.’”

There is nothing in these principles that has not been accepted and followed by Protestants of many communions in later years even to this day. The Puritan idea failed on trial because it clashed so severely with the civil rights of men. Many churches were formed throughout all the colony, each on the theory that it was independent in choosing its pastor, in administering discipline, and in its relations to the civil powers. In theory the right of private judgment, of independency of religious worship, was undeniable; but the possession of a right does not carry with it the wise exercise and use of it. If the State was to be built from the church, and to be governed by it, then independent churches were not likely to prove valuable unless there were some method by which they would recognize the rights of other bodies, be united with them, and establish some central authority (particularly in civil affairs) which they would obey, and to which they would give support.

The Court the Arbiter of Religion—A Court of Assistants had been provided for in the charter, and eventually became the civil and religious power of the colony. But the chief business of the Court, if we may judge fairly by such records of its activities during the first few years, was to settle religious disputes, the most of which were bickerings. Under the first charter, five Synods of the Churches, 1637, 1648, 1662, 1679, and 1680, were held in a vain attempt to harmonize the variances of the churches, and to establish some acceptable common form of discipline. Many strange religious beliefs arose; he who stumbled on what he thought was something new in religion went to extremes in the endeavor to impress the notion on others, and the zealot can always

gather about him a group of believers. So it is that we find creeping into the proceedings of the court severities directed against heresy and seditious theories. At all costs the colony founded in the face of the greatest difficulties by Puritans, must be saved for Puritans. When we read of stringent rulings, cruel laws, persecutions, it is well to recall the positions in which the magistrates were placed, and that punitive repressive measures had to be taken against the series of assaults upon the persons who threatened the existence of the settlements; and also that these conditions ruled only for the first thirty years of the colonies. Two other facts should be remembered by one who would sit in judgment over the "persecuting Puritans." The policies followed by the Puritans were those of the times. They had been ex-patriated by their attempt to escape the repressive measures of England, but knew no better way than repression to preserve the freedom which they had secured by migrating to Massachusetts. Again, the classes which the Puritans so severely treated, Antinomians, Baptists and Quakers, are not now represented in the churches that bear these titles. "*Autre temps, autres moeurs!*"

The Repression of Opponents—If we were to gather together in a group the individuals and the classes of persons who were the victims of Puritan intolerance, we should see that, with the exception of Roger Williams, there were the common elements of fanaticism, aggravating contempt of authority, and usually the claim of special divine guidance in the form of "private revelations." There was Samuel Gorton, a former "clothier from London." He showed up in Boston in 1636, moving shortly after to Plymouth, where he was expelled for some strange heresy. Next he was whipped in Rhode Island for calling the magistrates "just-asses." He was brought to Boston later, whipped, and banished, again for heresy; but evidently he was a trouble-maker, both here and in England, which probably had something to do with his repeated punishments. He was accused of being a "Familist," whatever that was. Even a perusal of such of his writings as are still extant, fails to make clear what he was or thought. He seemingly was "against everything and everybody," ignorant, conceited, claiming much but proving little. And yet he founded a sect that bore his name for a century.

The Expulsion of Roger Williams—Gorton was a sample of the class which the Puritans desired to repress; this can hardly be said of Roger Williams. Williams and his wife arrived in Boston in 1631, while Wilson of the First Church was in England, and was invited to become the teacher in the church. This he declined, and by so doing offended. Williams spent the next year or so in visiting other parts of the colony, principally Plymouth and Salem, where he was received gladly. In the

end he was driven out of Massachusetts under cruel circumstances, taking up his abiding place in Rhode Island, which seems to have provided a home for all sort of eccentric individuals and ideas. Too much has been written concerning the Roger Williams controversy to need any special mention here. There are two ways of putting his case. One represents him as a "premature champion of soul-liberty, denying the right of the magistrate beyond civil affairs, and pleading for the claims of savages above the King's patent to the land." Others telling the story place the emphasis on his ardent holding of opinions which, if followed, would wreck all authority. The court forbade his stay within their jurisdiction, charged him with having "broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here."

The Antinomian Controversy—Rather more serious was the discord aroused in Boston known as the "Antinomian Controversy." Antinomianism troubled the settlements over nearly the whole of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and spread into other sections. One continually runs upon the word in the early history of the towns bordering the bay, although it is almost unknown in the modern vocabularies. If the dictionary is to be believed, this dreadful heresy was the "holding that faith frees the Christian from the obligations of the moral law." There are other definitions, but they are but the expansion of this, and are too often expressed in cant phrases that in themselves require explanation. The trouble was that the Puritans associated the belief with the licentious professions and actions of fanatics in Germany and Holland.

Anne Hutchinson—Except for Captain Underhill, that merry reprobate, and fine soldier, there evidently was no immorality in the lives of the Antinomians of Boston. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was the prime exemplar of the faith in the town, and no question has been raised as to her conduct. She became prominent, at first, through her deeds of kindness to her own sex, and was evidently a woman of brains and genuine goodness. Her influence with the women drew about her groups with whom she discussed her ideas, and unfortunately the sermons delivered in the church. Soon her influence spread beyond those of her own sex. She was called upon to retract some of her criticisms and preachments. Eventually the court took cognizance of the controversy which had seized the community, and the dealings of the court and church with Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, roused an anger that was ready to burst into viciousness and lawlessness. Sides were taken by all classes in Boston, some of the principal residents taking the side of Mrs. Hutchinson; the two associate elders, Cotton and Wilson, and the two gov-

ernors, Winthrop and Vane, being arrayed against each other. The powers of the Puritan Commonwealth prevailed. Anne Hutchinson was banished by order of the court; the church excommunicated her. Two of her followers were both disfranchised and fined, eight disfranchised, two fined, and three banished. Seventy-six inhabitants of Boston, in sympathy with her, were disarmed. Many of those suffering under the displeasure of the court were full members of the First Church, so the "intolerance" of the Puritan turned sometimes upon themselves.

The Anabaptists—The imperiled State had again been saved; the theocratic experiment continued. But there soon was another "heresy" to worry the magistrate and the church, and to whom severity was again shown. This heresy had to do with baptism, or rather to the mode of baptizing. There probably would have been little difficulty growing out of the whole affair had not intolerance ruled both parties. The Anabaptists, as the "heretics" were called, believed that baptism was a symbolical act, a token of conversion, and therefore should not be practiced except by those of sufficient maturity to have experienced conversion. Naturally, not believing in the efficacy of child baptism, they rebaptized those of like faith, which in itself was a reflection on the practices of the Puritan Church. To add fuel to the fire, the Anabaptists railed against the Puritan mode as violently as the Puritans condemned the heresy. Many of the seceding Christians were fined, whipped and banished. In 1644, by law, all could be banished who "shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptising of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart from the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of the magistracy, &c." Many of the State Church objected to this law, but it stood with the consequence that even the leaving of the meeting-house when infant baptism might be punished by excommunication. If the excommunicated met formally together, then they were guilty of another offense and could be punished.

The First Baptist Church—The Baptists persisted and conquered, thereby putting additional nails into the coffin in which was eventually interred the intolerance of the Puritan theocracy. The first Baptist church was formed in Charlestown in 1665 with five members. Subsequently it moved to Boston and erected its first meeting-house in 1679. The next year the doors of the little church were nailed up by the order of the Governor and Council of the Colony, but did not remain so for long. The first edifice was erected at the corner of Salem and Stillman streets. After some years a larger building was put up on the same site, and one hundred and fifty years after the erection of the first little edifice,

the third was built on the corner of Hanover and Union streets, where the congregation remained for a quarter of a century before removing to Somerset Street on Beacon Hill.

The Early Quakers—One other denomination had its rise during the colonial period of Boston. This was the Quaker, and although the Quakers were never a numerous people, they were influential, as were no other class, in breaking down the intolerance of Puritan Boston. The story of the Quakers forms one of the most gloomy in the early history of the town. The first of their number were imprisoned, scourged, sent into slavery, banished, several had an ear cut off by the public executioner, and four met death on the gallows. But the Quakers thrived under the persecution and at last won the right to worship God as they pleased without molestation. They built the first brick church in Boston; and they accomplished many other things that only the fanatical persistency of martyrs could have accomplished.

The Quaker of that day is not to be confused with the name now borne by a body of men and women noted for their virtues and graces of their lives and religion. They were known as "Ranters" in the mother country and had created quite a stir by the novelty of their professions and the violence of their actions. Boston stood in fear of the coming of the Ranters and rejoiced that none entered the colony for the years prior to 1655. The first arrivals were two women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, whom came from England by way of Barbadoes. In August of the same year came eight more. The women were escorted out of the colony, and everyone forbidden to speak with them. The eight were thrown into prison, after their books had been taken from them and burned, eventually to be sent back to England. At the next session of the court, laws were made to quench, once for all, the "cursed Sect of Hereticks . . . who take upon them to be the immediately sent from God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions. . . . Speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers." Among the laws were ones penalizing the masters of vessels who should bring a Quaker to any port in the colony, and forcing him to take the Quaker away; Quakers coming into the colony were to be imprisoned and whipped with twenty stripes. The next year laws were passed providing that any person entertaining a Quaker for an hour should be fined forty shillings; if the offense was repeated, one of his ears was to be cut off; if he still persisted he was to lose the other ear, be whipped, and his tongue bored with a hot iron.

The King Intervenes—However interesting it might be to tell the tale of the severe application of these laws and others (for they were enforced most thoroughly), to show to what ends the Puritans went in their blind

endeavors to preserve their State and religion from all forces that threatened their destruction, it need not be done now. "Somewhere beneath the soil of Boston Common lie the ashes of four so-called Quakers—three men and one woman—who were cast into their rude graves after they had been executed on the gallows between 1659 and 1661. This death penalty was the culmination of the successive inflictions to which Puritan legislation vainly had recourse to be rid of an intolerable plague." Details of the long list of punishments dealt to the Quakers may be found elsewhere. The Quakers carried their case to the King of England, and Charles the Second after the Restoration, commissioned one of them, Samuel Shattuck, to carry to Boston the royal mandate that no more should the death penalty be inflicted and that those under indictment then in prison should be sent to England for trial. Of the dramatic presentation of letter to Governor Endicott, a well-known account was given by the poet Whittier, in his "The King's Missive." In 1661, the King again ruled that the Quakers should not be interfered with, but allowed to go about their affairs without molestation, and that liberty to peoples of all denominations should be accorded. The Puritan authorities evaded these mandates in many particulars, but the end of their reign was at hand. One of the rulings of the royal messages removed the restriction of the franchise to church members and its extension to all citizens who were in other respects entitled to it. The strong party of non-covenanted voters which now arose began an effectual undermining of the walls with which the Puritan church and State had surrounded its authority. The collapse came in 1692, when the colony was reduced from its high estate to that of a province. The spell of Puritan was rudely shattered, the Puritan Commonwealth was prostrated, never to rise again. Henceforth, the State and the church were never to be one; the experiment of building a State from a church had proven impractical.

The Puritan Theocracy Loses Control—From 1630, or even earlier, to 1692, marks the years of the Puritan epoch, the period of *The Church*. Henceforth the history of early religion is the story of churches. We have seen that the period saw the rise of several denominations, but however influential they may have been in the breaking down of the Puritan Theocracy, it is estimated that of the 7,000 inhabitants of the Boston of 1692, there were not more than a few hundred who held to any other faith than that which is now called Congregational. This period of forcible repression of dissent from the Established Church of New England was succeeded by a period in which the Protestant bodies gained a firm and recognized footing in Boston. Before passing to this next and different epoch, there remains the mention of the rise of the Episcopal Church, and details concerning the physical side of the Quaker development.

Drake says that the Quakers had a meeting-house as early, perhaps, as 1665; in 1677 they most certainly had established a regular place of worship. In 1697 their brick meeting-house was built on Brattle Street, near where the Quincy House stood. It was a little building twenty-four by twenty feet. In 1708 a new house was erected on Congress Street, which for some time after was called Quaker Lane. The burying-ground adjoined the house. This meeting place, which was also of brick, was nearly destroyed in the great fire of 1760, but promptly restored. Here the Quakers met with diminishing numbers until 1808, when the property was sold and the remains in the burying-ground removed to Lynn. From this time until 1827, there was no Quaker meeting-house in Boston. It is a strange fact that while the persecutions of the Quakers increased, so did the sect increase in numbers; when allowed to go their way unmolested, they began to diminish in strength. For some years after the Revolution their numbers were so small that their meeting-house was no longer used regularly for services.

In 1679 several persons residing in Boston petitioned the King "that a Church might be allowed them for the exercise of religion according to the Church of England." This was but one of a number of protests made against the enforced eliminations by the Puritans of every possible feature of the former manner of conducting religious services by the Church of England. Edward Randolph, who had his finger in ending colonial affairs in Massachusetts at this time, had occasion for rejoicing over the "Bostoneers," as he called them, when in 1686 the frigate "Rose" brought a commission to Joseph Dudley as president of Massachusetts and other lands; and also brought the Reverend Robert Ratcliffe, the first minister of the English church commissioned to officiate on this soil. Dudley assumed office and Randolph soon proposed that one of the Congregational churches should be taken and used for the services by the new pastor. This was denied him, a room in the town house being assigned for the purpose, until it was shown that enough wanted worship along the lines of the Church of England. This hardly suited Randolph, who wanted to seize one of the Congregational churches and force the support of the English church upon the Puritans, who hated it. Randolph, it is evident, promoted the church for political ends rather than from any religious purpose. Unable to use Dudley, the partnership between the two was soon broken.

Andros and the Church of England—A congregation of the Church of England was organized, and probably would have chosen quiet methods of securing a place of worship had not the arrival of Governor Andros, the first royal ruler of the province, in December of 1686, forced the issue. For on the very day of his arrival, he called the ministers of Boston

together and told them they must arrange for the use of one of the Congregational churches by the Established Church. It devolved upon five ministers from the three Boston churches to make the last stand for their religion and their State; they managed to delay the end for three months. But with Lent drawing near, with the Governor surrounded by churches that did not even have the legal right to exist in his home land, the ministers of which showed no signs of accession to his demands for one meeting-house in which the ritual of the Lenten days might be celebrated, Andros chose the South Church as the unwilling host of the new Episcopal Society. The first service was held on March 25, 1787.

King's Chapel—There was, of course, a great deal of friction caused by the use of Old South by two opposed congregations; it is cause for regret that the birth of religious freedom was accompanied by so many unpleasant features. But it is seldom that new life can enter the world without suffering, and as far as the South Church is concerned their trouble lasted less than two years. The new society began the erection of a place of worship the next year, the foundations for the little wooden chapel being laid in October, 1688, and worship was first held in the completed edifice, June 8, 1689. This was the first King's Chapel, its site being a corner of the old burial-ground now occupied by the front part of the present chapel. The cost of this modest church is given as £284 16s., or \$1,425, the most of the amount being raised among ninety-six contributors from the whole colony. The Episcopal Church, both organization and chapel, withstood the storms of the next few years; in 1710 the building was enlarged. It had the fostering care of the monarchs of England from William and Mary to George the Third. "King William and Queen Mary gave them a pulpit-cloth, a cushion, a rich set of plate for the communion table, and a piece of painting reaching from the top to the bottom of the east end of the church, containing the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. Thomas Brattle gave a pair of organs to it."

The present King's Chapel, the mecca of so many of Boston's visitors, was started in 1741, the corner-stone being laid in 1749. It was built around the old chapel, but not completed until 1754. The edifice is of Quincy granite, erected from designs of Peter Harrison, an Englishman. The portico was not completed until 1789, the year in which Washington attended an oratio in the chapel; the steeple, which was a part of the plan, was never built. During the Siege of Boston, British officers worshipped in King's Chapel; but when the town was evacuated, the rector fled to Halifax and the church remained closed until 1777, when by one of the compensative events of history, the Old South congregation, whose meeting-house had been so roughly used by the British, occupied it for

the next five years. For this period the name was changed, because of the hatred of all things royal, to the Stone Chapel, but in time the love of a familiar name brought back the old title. In 1782, the church was reopened by the remnant of the original society, with James Freeman as "Reader." Under his leading the congregation professed the Unitarian doctrine and the First Episcopal Church of Boston became the First Unitarian.

The Six Earliest Meeting Houses—We have proceeded ahead of our story as far as time is concerned. The epoch which ended in 1692, saw the end of the political despotism of the Puritans. There were now six "meeting-houses" in Boston. Three were Congregational in faith, the dates of their founding being: The First Church of Boston, August 23, 1630; The Second, June 5, 1650; Old South, May 12, 1669. The Baptists had organized, as we have seen, in 1665; the Quakers in 1677; the King's Chapel Society in 1686. The Puritan, or as it should be called from now on, the Congregational faith, was in the ascendant, as it was to be for another century and more. The Second Church was necessitated by the growth of Boston, and was organized in 1649, building a meeting-house possibly the same year, there being no existing record of the date when it was completed or first used. The first sermon was preached June 5, 1650, and services were conducted by one of the members, Michael Powell, until 1655, when John Mayo was ordained as the first pastor. Its roll of ministers is a notable one; three of the first four, extending over the period from 1655 to 1741, were Mathers, Increase, Cotton, and Samuel, to name them in the order of their tenure. The meeting-house was burned in 1676 and rebuilt the next year, and it was this second building that was wantonly destroyed by the British soldiery for firewood during the siege of Boston, 1775. The society remained homeless, but held together until 1779, when possession was taken of the "New Brick Church" in Hanover Street, an edifice which had been built in 1726 by seceders from the New North Church, who had failed to thrive as a separate body.

Old South Church—The Third Church, better known as Old South, dates from May 12, 1650, and was the first break in the peaceful reign, until then, of the Puritan theocracy. Says the Reverend Doctor Wisner: "Like too many other churches of Christ, it originated in bitter contentions among those who are bound by their profession, as well as by the precept of Heaven, to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." These "contentions" were not local or of sudden production, but originated in the first ecclesiastical institutions of the country, and were spread through the whole of New England. The limitation of the politi-

cal franchise to those who were church members continued in effect until the provincial period, a certificate being required from ministers to the "orthodox principles" and good lives of the candidates for freedom. An ever-increasing number of citizens were disfranchised by this test; many of the children of the first settlers could not satisfy the tests for admission to the church; and, as baptism could not be had for children of those who were not church members, a generation arose who were largely excluded from both religious, political and civil privileges. An effort was made in 1646 by Robert Child and others by a petition to the General Court "that civil liberty and freedom might forthwith be granted to all English; and that all members of the Church of England or Scotland, not scandalous, might be admitted to the privileges of the churches of New England." The petitioners, who represented a widespread discontent which blossomed later into distinct denominations, were denied what they asked, their papers seized, and a fine imposed.

The grievances could not be repressed. The growing sentiment was that "all baptized persons, not scandalous in life and formally excommunicated, ought to be considered members of the church in all respects except the right of partaking of the Lord's Supper." It would seem but a logical stand for the Puritan church-state to accede to such a position, but the opposition to any letting down of the bars was very great. A General Council of the Churches was called by the court in 1657, which met in Boston, at which the decision was that those baptized in infancy were therefore to be regarded as members of the church and entitled to the privileges, with the exception of the Lord's Supper, including baptism of their own children. The innovation aroused even more bitter opposition. A second Synod was held, 1662, at which the decision of the first was practically reaffirmed. The churches of the colony knew not what to do about the conclusions of the synods and were divided among themselves. The pastor of the First Church, the venerated Wilson, died August 7, 1667, and Reverend John Davenport, of New Haven, was called to the vacant pulpit. He was an advocate of the stricter side in the controversy, whose call had been opposed by a minority in the First Church. This dissatisfied minority withdrew shortly after his installation, and twenty-eight of them with one from the Charlestown Church, met in the latter place, and asked for formal permission to form the Third Church. This was, of course, refused, but a church was formed, nevertheless, and Thomas Thatcher became its first minister in February, 1670. Some of the members of the new church were imprisoned; an attempt was made to prevent the construction of a new meeting-house in Boston. But the edifice was built on what is now the corner of Washington and Milk streets, the land being given by Madame Norton, whose later bene-

factions still serve the church and its ministry. Only the high lights have been here mentioned of the bitter strife occasioned by the founding of the Old South Church. The covenant under which the church organized was but a slight expansion of the solemn covenant entered into by Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson and Wilson at the establishment of the First Church, although of somewhat broader and militant wording. The members bound themselves: "To walk together as a Church of Christ according to the holy rules of God's word . . . so far as we already know them, or they shall hereafter further be made known to us . . . we do likewise promise to endeavor to establish among ourselves, and convey down to our posterity, all the holy truths and ordinances of the Gospel, committed to the churches, in faith and observance, opposing to the uttermost of our church power whatsoever is diverse therefrom or contrary thereunto." The sentences are significant when read in connection with the stormy events which led to the establishment of the church and the even more stormy events later connected with its history.

The Church at Dorchester—The churches so far named have all been those within the limits of the Boston of that day. There were, of course, others in the territory that later was annexed by Boston, and one of these was founded prior to the First Boston. Dorchester was not only settled some few weeks before the place of which it is now but a part, but the establishment of a church was coincident with its settlement, its organization having been perfected in England prior to the departure of the "Mary and John," the vessel that carried the pioneers to this country. The name of the settlement was given to honor Rev. John White, the promoter of the settlement and organizer of its church. Dorchester also had the first meeting-house in the bay, built in 1631, near the corner of Cottage and Pleasant streets. The building was palisaded and guarded against the Indians, and was used as a depot for military stores. This first meeting-house stood for fourteen years, providing for a year a place of worship for the people of Roxbury. In 1643 it was agreed, "for peace and love's sake, there should be a new meeting-house"; two hundred and fifty pounds were appropriated for this purpose. In 1670 this building was removed to Meeting-house Hill, the site of the churches that followed for two centuries and a half. The first ministers were John Maverick and John Warham, the latter of whom remained as pastor for thirty-four years. Mr. Maverick did not live long, a large contingent of the church went to Connecticut, and the arrival of another group of settlers all led to the reorganization of the society in 1636. Richard Mather succeeded Mr. Maverick, being the first of that famous family. The record of the Mather influence and leadership in Boston and the colony is too well known and covers too lengthy a period to be told here. Richard

Mather "labored hard in thee, O Dorchester!" for more than thirty years; his death occurred on April 6, 1669. His rare scholarship and ability were promptly recognized in the colony; after his settlement in Dorchester he became a prominent leader in all ecclesiastical affairs. He was one of the committee which drafted the Cambridge platform, 1646, which was the model of church discipline and polity thereafter, and this was but one of his many services to the Puritan church.

Roxbury and John Eliot—Roxbury was the sixth of the towns in New England to found a church, Plymouth (1620), Salem (1629), Dorchester (1630), Boston and Watertown (1632), having alone preceded it. The founders were William Pynchon—a leader in the establishment of the town and church, but who later became unorthodox and left the colony with a deferred judgment against his heresy hanging over him—George Alcock, William Parke, John Johnson, Thomas Lamb, William Denison, Thomas Rawlings, Robert Cole, William Chase, Thomas Welde, Robert Gamlin, Richard Lyman, Richard Bugby, Jehu Burr, Gregorie Baxter, Francis Smith, John Perrie, John Leavens and Samuel Wakeman. In the summer of 1632, the first meeting-house was built on Meeting-house Hill, it being, as was usual, the place where the town meetings were held, as well as religious services. John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians," was the first pastor and preached in the "rude and unbeautified" edifice for nearly sixty years. Reverend Thomas Welde was the first "Teacher" and is usually written of as the first pastor; he was one of those most active in the persecution of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. "He that would write of Eliot," says Cotton Mather, "must write of charity or say nothing." He was a protector and friend of the Indian, his great efforts on their behalf leading to the founding of the Indian town of Natick and the translation of the Bible into the aborigine tongue, completed in 1663. Eliot was the founder of the grammar schools of Roxbury and other places in the colony. The death of this great man, one of the most Christ-like of the Puritan ministers, occurred May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six.

The First Church of Charlestown—As has been shown, the First Church of Boston was formed in Charlestown, although moved immediately to the former settlement. In 1632, just after the establishment of the Lynn church, which followed the organization of the Roxbury congregation, the First Church of Charlestown was founded, October 14, 1632. Thirty-five members "were dismissed from the congregation of Boston" at their own request and covenanted together as a separate body, with Thomas James, recent arrival from England, as their pastor. The "Great House" was used, at first as the meeting place, but in 1636

another location, vaguely defined as "between the town and the neck" was chosen. This was sold three years later and the money received used to help in the building of "the new meeting-house on the South side of the Town Hill." This was the last of the houses of worship built during the colonial period. John Harvard was admitted as an inhabitant August 1, 1637, and "was sometime minister of God's Word" in the town, although there is no record of his ordination. Although esteemed for his scholarship and piety, his name has come down to us because of his giving to the proposed college a half of his estate, together with his library.

This concludes the list of the churches founded in Boston of today by the Puritans during the colonial period. Although not numerous, they represented the power, the genius and the purpose of the founders of the colony. There had been a gradual loosening of the bonds which held them together; a half century had been ample time for a new class, and classes, of citizens to arise. The union of church and State was breaking, the charter under which this had been possible was taken from the colony, and difficulties more serious than heresy were to be confronted. The vigor and spirit of the clergy had not weakened, although their position was less firmly established as virtual rulers of a religious Commonwealth. The various synods and "confessions" had cleared the questions of doctrines and discipline from some of the fog which had surrounded them, and had created what was to be the basis of the polity of the Congregational Church in America. Hereafter, the Puritan Church may rightly be written of as the Congregational.

The Era of Reaction—Since, in this chapter, a political period has been chosen to mark a religious one, so the second section of the early religious history of Boston may be treated as paralleling the "Provincial Era." This extended from 1692 to 1774, but to it will be added the Inter-Charter Period, 1686-92, and the Revolutionary Period, 1775-80. The first section is important and has been included, in part, already; the latter division is relatively unimportant in church history, since it was a time of no new developments in religion. One is tempted to call this second epoch, of which we are to deal, one of reaction, for while churches increased in numbers and in membership, that membership failed to increase in proportion to the growth in population. Somehow, when the provincial charter gave the freedom to worship God as one pleased, too many chose to not do so at all. War, politics, and the accumulation of wealth absorbed the minds of men to the exclusion of religion. That whole series of wars which had their culmination in the Revolution left little time, or inclination, for men to walk in the ways of truth and peace. The contact with soldiers and peoples of other races, particularly the

French, introduced ideas and ways quite at variance with those of the none too attractive Puritan faith. Money and politics were inextricably intertangled, and both required so much intensive attention that religion was neglected. This was very greatly so during the last four decades preceding the birth of the republic. Only one new church was established during these forty years, and two of the older ones dropped out in these same years. However disheartening the years up to 1783 may have been to those who had the Faith in their keeping, as one looks back upon it, the season was but the winter before the spring, or the dark before the dawn. The remarkable advance made by the churches of Boston during the nineteenth century made up for the depressing half century it followed.

Up to, and through the Revolution, the strength of Boston's religion was Puritan, there being but a small admixture of other faiths. Church development was chiefly Congregational. Two other Episcopal churches were established in addition to the King's Chapel Society, Christ Church in 1723, and Trinity in 1728. The Baptists added one, The Second (Warren Avenue), in 1743. Then there is to be included a Methodist Church, of 1771, the first of many which were to come after the close of the Revolution. Numbered among the Congregational churches founded before 1780, with the dates of their founding, were: Brattle Street, December 12, 1699; New North, May 5, 1714; New South, November 22, 1719; Federal Street (originally Presbyterian), November 15, 1727; Hollis Street, November 14, 1732; West (Lynde Street), January 3, 1737; Samuel Mather, May 29, 1742 (this suspended in 1785); and School Street, February 17, 1748; for the next half century there were no more churches established. In the suburban districts now parts of the city, there was a Second Church founded in Roxbury (West Roxbury) on November 2, 1712, and the Third Church, in Roxbury (Jamaica Plain), on December 11, 1770. The First Church in Brighton seems properly to be dated from 1783, although some consider it to have been born in 1730. Altogether, including all denominations, there were seventeen church organizations in the Boston District, which then had an estimated population of 21,000 inhabitants.

The Churches in 1692—At the opening of the period we are reviewing, there were only three Puritan churches in Boston proper. Of these, Reverend James Allen was then the minister of the First Church, having been installed in 1668. In 1684, the Reverend Joshua Moody was chosen as assistant pastor and continued as such until his removal to Portsmouth in 1692. The minister of the Second Church was the Reverend Increase Mather, who had been made the teacher in this church in 1664 as an associate of John Mayo, who retired within a few years. Cotton Mather

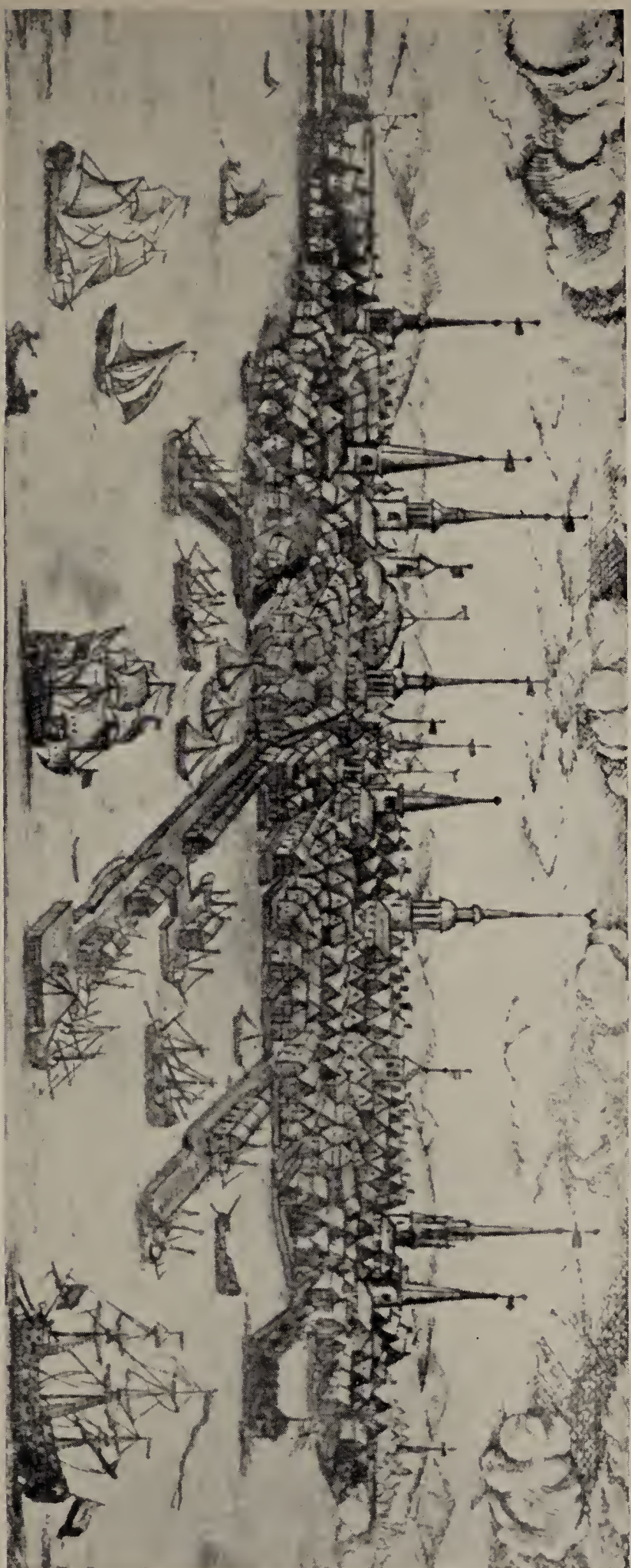
had been ordained in 1685 as the appointed assistant to his father. Increase Mather was also president of Harvard College at the close of the Colonial Period. The Third Church had as its second pastor, Samuel Willard having so served for eight years. Elder John Emblen, who came from England, in 1684, for the purpose, had charge of the Baptist Church.

The bold feature of the change from the Colonial to the Provincial Period was, as indicated, the freedom of other than Puritan faiths to establish their religions. The Puritan Church still held the ground and was to make the religious history for the next century and more. But it was to be greatly modified by the new order of things. In regard to the general state of church affairs, a modern historian of the ancient church system of New England wrote: "Under the provincial charter ecclesiastical affairs were conducted in a somewhat different, and on the whole, in a decidedly better manner than under the colonial charter. The temptation to join the church for worldly advantage was greatly diminished by extending the right to vote to all persons alike of a certain estate, whether members of the church or not. And by cutting off appeals to the General Court in all matters strictly ecclesiastical the churches were restored to their original independence, which had partially had been taken away."

At the Beginning of the Provincial Period—Reverend Alexander McKenzie, D. D., has written of the beginning of the Provincial Period:

There are various matters of less importance which throw light upon the religious condition of Boston at this time. Besides the regular services in the churches, there were lectures and private meetings and catechisings, by which the Word was divided to the people according to their age and condition. The "Thursday Lecture" has come down to our own day. Religious exercises were connected with the various events of the people's life,—with town-meetings, the framing of houses, the gathering of the militia, the opening of the court, and the like occasions. The artillery election was dignified by a sermon. The people were required to support the ministry, and expected to attend upon the services of the church. The Sabbath was, of course, observed with great strictness, but the law of the Lord was upon all time. Judge Sewall records a strong effort of his own to have the days of the week numbered, as they had formerly been, in place of their usual names, but he could get little support in the project. Synods and councils were held for the orderly self-government of the churches. The distinction between pastor and teacher had become very rare, and the office of ruling elder nearly obsolete.

Days for public thanksgiving and fasting were appointed from time to time as the affairs of the community made them appropriate and desirable. The rite of marriage was now performed by clergymen, as well as by magistrates, although still regarded as a civil ordinance. Funerals were observed in a very simple way, that no superstitious or unscriptural notions might be fostered by them. A variation from the English mode of taking an oath by holding the Bible or by kissing it is found at this time, and this became one of the questions which divided the colonists from the Andros party. Sewall has an entry in June, 1686, when he took the oath of allegiance and received his new commission as captain: "I read the Oath myself, holding the book in my left hand, and holding up my



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right hand to Heaven." The strong disapproval of frivolous amusements is to be noticed. In 1684 there had been published in Boston *An Arrow Against Profane and Promiscuous Dancing, drawn out of the Quiver of the Scriptures. By the Ministers of Christ at Boston, in New England.* . . . The unseemly custom prevailed of taking a condemned criminal to the meeting-house before his execution, that he might hear a discourse suited to his condition.

With all the public and private interests and transactions, the daily life of the people ran on, with its work and worship. There was abundant preaching and teaching; discipline was maintained in church and home; children were born, and were baptized if the parents conformed to the rules of the churches; old and young died, and were buried with open and with secret grief. There were days of private, as well as of public, fasting and prayer. Families often came together for religious services. The people carried their joys and griefs to the sanctuary, and by putting up a "Bill" engaged the sympathy of the congregation. Society was receiving accessions, and not always of men like the old stock in character or behavior or affiliation. It could not be long before the strangers whom civil office, or military concerns, or the affairs of war brought over had an influence upon the tone and manners of the community, removing it from the severity of those who were here before them, and quite as notably from their virtues. Men born upon the soil were naturally of a sterner type than those who had received their early nurture in England, with its comfort and indulgence. The wilderness offered a more austere birth and training. But it developed a nobler manhood, which would not be improved but injured by contact with men of easier lives and less commanding virtue. The liberalizing tendency which is manifest during this period is not in all respects a gain. The end of it is not yet.

Two events of quite contrasting nature mark the opening of the Provincial Period. Increase Mather, "the most eminent among the clergy of Massachusetts," returned from his successful mission abroad, accompanied by Sir William Phips, the new Governor, under the new charter. This charter and Governor, while better than Andros and the grant under which he had worried the colony, were only compromises, pleasing to none concerned. Mather had the privilege of appointing the officials whom the King should place in authority, by the colony was reduced to little more than a subject province. Mather's conduct abroad merited approval, he had been of real service to the Commonwealth, but the people were disappointed. So much so, that this truly great man went down before the calumny and opposition which soon followed, losing both political influence and religious standing.

The Witchcraft Delusion—The second event, or series of events, form one of the most dismal pages in the history of the colony. A belief in witchcraft had seized hold on the people. For several years witches had been reported from various parts of Massachusetts. Increase Mather and Cotton Mather had written on the subject, giving many accounts of persons possessed. When Governor Phips landed, in 1692, there were a hundred men and women in jail charged with witchcraft. None could

hope to be free from a like accusation and a like imprisonment. To such lengths did the delusion go, that insinuations were made against Lady Phips, Mr. Willard, the minister of the South Church, and others equally prominent. The subject of witchcraft has been gone into with detail in another chapter, and so needs but the mention here. The Boston churches and ministers were, as formerly, the advisers of the magistrates, and as such must bear much of the responsibility for the harsh measures that were taken to stamp out those accused. Neither the church, nor its ministers, nor Puritanism can be judged as originating the witchcraft delusion. "The estimation of witchcraft as a crime equally as real as murder, and more heinous, and the practice of punishing it accordingly, were much older than the Puritan occupation of New England. They were much older than the Reformation."

The evil ran its course; the prisons eventually were emptied of their inmates. Some who had served on juries acknowledged the injustice of their verdicts. A day of general fasting was observed, and the pardon of God sought for the error of their deeds. In 1697, Judge Sewall made his memorable confession—there is a tradition that the good man kept a "private day of prayer and humiliation in acknowledgement of his guilt and in supplication for mercy." Perhaps no better ending can be given this brief reference to witchcraft than that made by the historian Palfrey: "Nor is it possible to avoid considering of what stuff some men and women of that stock were made, when twenty of them went to the gallows rather than soil their consciences by the lie of a confession."

Harvard College Becomes Secularized—The story of the churches in Boston immediately following the witchcraft episode lacks outstanding features. Sir William Phips was succeeded in the government of the province by Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, of the Irish peerage, 1698. The Quakers had built a more permanent meeting-place in 1694. The English Church failed to make the headway expected under the liberal provisions of a new charter. In 1699 John Emblen, minister of the Baptist Church, died; it was several years before another was settled over the congregation. Perhaps the most interesting development of the times had to do with Harvard College, which was outgrowing its swaddling clothes. Increase Mather was at its head, and ministers were most of its teachers and overseers. The college was a church school, and established for the religious well-being of the colony rather than for secular educational purposes. The number of students still remained small, but other than theological branches of learning were being added, and a feeling of importance was creeping into its attitude. One of the difficulties that arose was due to a vote of the General Court that the president of the institution should live in Cambridge. Mather preferred

to reside in Boston and to give the larger share of his time to preaching and ministerial work. As he stated his position in a letter of December 16, 1698, to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton: "If I comply with what is desired I shall be taken off, in a great measure at least, from my public Ministry. Should I leave off preaching to 1500 souls . . . only to expound to forty or fifty Children, a few of them capable of Edification by such Exercises, I doubt I should do well." By a compromise pleasing to none, Mather moved to Cambridge and continued his connection with the Second Church. He soon moved back and resigned. Samuel Willard, pastor of the Third, or South Church, then took charge of the college, but since he also remained in Boston, the title of vice-president was given him to evade the decision of the court as to residency. The intimate connection of Boston ministers with the presidency of Harvard gradually weakened from this time on.

Rise of the "Manifesto Church"—The formation of a fourth Congregational Church, known in the older histories as the "Manifesto Church," but whose name as chosen by itself was The Brattle Street Church, was event of considerable significance in the religious history of Boston. It was born of a desire to break away from the religious authorities of the day, and was also the result of a movement in favor of a more liberal policy in the worship and administration of a religious body. Several things were involved in the movement. Baptism was one, this being confined by the Boston Confession of 1680 to members and members' children, "and these only." Those who had been baptized as children, if they failed to join one of the Puritan churches, could not have their children baptized and, therefore, these sons and daughters could not become members of any established church. Again, candidates for full admission to a church had to give a public relation of their religious experience before the whole congregation. This, while logical, found many who did not care to describe their spiritual life before friends and enemies; some could not or would not. Third, parish government rested with the members of the church as distinct from the congregation. This distinction had passed away in civil affairs; why then retain it in religious matters? And lastly, public worship as carried on by the Puritans desiring to abolish all forms which had held in the English Church, lacked variety, beauty and effectiveness. The usual meeting consisted of "one praying, one singing, and one preaching." The Bible could not be read without the addition of comments. The Lord's Prayer was not allowed to be repeated.

The new church did not intend to subscribe to anything differing in doctrine, but it did desire a greater liberality in interpretation, more breadth of administration, and additional attractiveness to the manner of

worship. "It was to be governed by a more liberal policy and to do its common work upon a broader plan." The first steps in this movement seem to have been taken in 1697. In January of the next year a piece of land was deeded by Thomas Brattle, upon which a wooden meeting-house was erected in 1699. Benjamin Coleman, a native of Boston and member of the Second Church in Boston, was called to be the first pastor. His theological training had been gained both in this country and abroad; he had preached in many parts of England, and had been ordained in London. He began to preach in the new meeting-house almost immediately after his arrival in Boston, November 1, 1699. A church organization had yet to be formed, and the declaration of the principles upon which the new church was to be established was written (apparently by Coleman) and issued. The title to the paper gave the name to the church. In brief it was as follows:

"A MANIFESTO or Declaration, set forth by the Undertakers of the New Church, Now Erected in Boston in New England, Nov. 17, 1699." "We think it Convenient," so it runs in the preamble, "for preventing all Misapprehensions and Jealousies, to publish our Aims and Designs herein, together with those Principles and Rules we intend by God's grace to adhere unto." There was no change of doctrine from that which had been held and taught from the beginning. "First of all, We approve and subscribe the *Confession of Faith* put forth by the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*." They wished to preserve close and friendly relations with the other churches. "It is our sincere desire and intention to hold Communion with the other Churches here as true Churches; and we openly protest against all Suspicion and Jealousie to the contrary, as most Injurious to us. And although in some Circumstances we may vary from many of them, yet we joyntly profess to maintain such Order and Rules of Discipline as may preserve, as far as in us lies, Evangelical Purity and Holiness in our Communion." They stated clearly their points of divergence from the accustomed ways of the churches. They would "conform to the ordinary practice of the churches of Christ in this Country" in the other parts of divine worship. But, "we judge it therefore most suitable and convenient, that in our Publick Worship some part of the Holy Scripture be read by the Minister at his discretion." Nothing is said of prayer; but it is the trustworthy tradition that the Lord's Prayer was to be once repeated by the minister in the service of every Sabbath. In regard to baptism they affirmed: "We allow of Baptism to those only who profess their Faith in Christ and Obedience to him, and to the Children of such; yet we dare not refuse it to *any* Child offered to us by *any* professed Christian, upon his engagement to see it educated, if God give life and ability, in the Christian Religion." They thought that such "Professions and Engagements" should be received by the pastor. They still further said: "We assume not to ourselves to impose upon a Publick Relation of their experience; however, if anyone thinks himself bound in Conscience to make such a Relation, let him do it. For we conceive it sufficient if the Pastor publicly declare himself satisfied in the person offered to our Communion, and seasonably propound him." There was one other point of difference. "Finally, We cannot confine the right of chusing a Minister to the Male Communicants alone, but we think that every Baptized Adult Person who contributes to the Maintenance should have a Vote in Electing. Yet it seems but just that persons of the greatest Piety, Gravity, Wisdom, Authority, or other Endowments should be leading and Influential to the Society in that Affair."

These were the most notable points in the constitution of the "Manifesto Church." Official recognition was withheld for some time, but the Boston ministers were not long in consenting to fellowship with the new church and its members and pastor. The principles laid down in the manifesto are practically those now held by Congregational societies everywhere except as regards baptism. The Brattle Street Church had wealth and influence from the start, and its membership grew rapidly. When the First Church meeting-house burned in 1711, both the Brattle Street and South churches were used by the homeless congregation, a condition that quickly cemented the fellowship of the members of all the Boston Puritan societies.

The "New North" and the "New South" Churches Built—On May 5, 1714, the New North Church in Boston was organized; "seventeen substantial mechanics formed the nucleus" of this society. A wood building was erected, and Reverend John Webb, of Harvard, 1708, ordained as pastor, October 20, 1714. The congregation so increased that in 1730 the house had to be enlarged, and in 1808 a more substantial edifice took its place.

In 1715 the town had made a grant to various petitioners, among whom was Samuel Adams, of "a Piece of Land comonly called Church Green, nigh Summer Street in Boston, of sixty-five feet in Length and forty-five feet in Breadth (with convenient High Wayes Round the same), for the erecting thereon an Edifice for a Meeting-House for Publick Worship of God." On this plot the New South Church, formed on November 22, 1719, erected "a convenient wooden building, with a handsome steeple, finished after the Ionick order, in which is a bell." On November 22, 1719, Mr. Samuel Checkley, Harvard College, 1715, was ordained as the first minister.

In 1720 Reverend Peter Thatcher was installed pastor of the New North Church, having been called from another church, a practice that was new and frowned upon. The upshot of a disagreement was the building of a brick church by the minority members of the old, with Mr. William Waldron as minister. In 1777, this church was incorporated with the one from whence it had come.

The Irish Presbyterians Organize—On November 15, 1727, a colony of Irish Presbyterians organized a church which met for some time in a building which had formerly been a barn. The Reverend John Moorhead was their minister for a long period. The location of the first and later erected edifice, 1744, was on Long Lane, now Federal Street, from which it derived its name. The Long Lane Church later became Congregational, and the second building was memorable as the meeting place in

1788 of the convention which was called to consider the adoption of the Federal Constitution. After that it was known as the Federal Street Church.

In 1732, November 14, another church was established in Hollis Street, in the formation of which Governor Belcher was prominent, and gave the land upon which the meeting-house was erected. A nephew of Thomas Hollis gave a great bell weighing eight hundred pounds. Both street and church bore the Hollis name. The first minister was Reverend Mather Byles, a native of Boston, ordained at the Hollis Street Church, December 20, 1733. He was compelled to give up his office in 1776 because of the boldness of his opposition to the Revolutionary party.

Samuel Mather, son of Cotton Mather, was called in 1732, to be the colleague of Mr. Gee, of the Second Church. Nine years later difficulties arose between the two which led Mather to ask for his dismissal. After an effort to heal the breach, his request was granted, and with ninety-three members of the church, he set up one which bore his name, May 29, 1742. A meeting-house was built on Hanover Street, where Mather preached until his death in 1785. In accordance with an expressed wish of his, the majority of the members of his congregation returned to the church from whence they had come. The residue became the nucleus of the Tenth Congregational Church in Boston; the building was later sold to the Universalists.

Back in 1737 the only church in the west part of Boston was formed as the West (Lynde Street) Church. Reverend William Hooper was the first minister who, after being pastor of this society for nine years, went abroad, was ordained as an Episcopal clergyman, and became minister of the Trinity Church, the third of that denomination. The School Street Church was formed February 17, 1748, the last of the Congregational churches to be established before 1809.

Second and Third Episcopal Churches—In 1723 the Second Episcopal Church in Boston was built for the new society, which bore the name Christ Church, and was to be under the care of Reverend Timothy Cutler. It was much admired for its architecture, and for the chime of bells installed in 1744. It is now the oldest church building in Boston, and one of the historical landmarks dear to the hearts of all true Americans, for from its steeple was shown the lanterns as a signal to Paul Revere that the British were about to make the move which precipitated the Revolution. From the original steeple (the first spire was blown down and a replica built in 1805) General Gage witnessed the Battle of Bunker Hill and the burning of Charlestown. The interior of the church is much as it was in the beginning. The clock below the rail has been there since 1746. The silver communion set includes several pieces, the gift of

George II in 1733; the brass chandeliers were taken from a French ship and presented in 1758. The earliest monument to Washington, a bust by Houdon, is another of its prized possessions.

The Third Episcopal Church in Boston, Trinity, was founded in April, 1728, "by reason that the Chapel (King's Chapel) is full and no pews are to be bought by newcomers." Land was purchased, corner of Hawley and Summer streets, and plans made for a church thereon, "Most conducing to the decent and regular performance of divine service according to the rubrick of the Book of Common Prayer used by the Church of England." It was six years before the corner-stone was laid, although the society had been organized under the name of Trinity Church and services begun. On August 15, 1745, the building was completed and dedicated. It was a plain wooden structure, ninety feet by sixty, without steeple or tower. Reverend Addington Davenport, who for three years had been the assistant rector at King's Chapel, was the first to have charge of the new church. In 1828 the building was taken down, and a solid Gothic structure took its place. This was destroyed in the "Great Fire of 1872" and replaced by the present splendid edifice at Huntington Avenue and Boylston Street.

In 1743 the Second Baptist Church was established, the congregation of which worshipped for some time in a private house with Ephraim Bownd, as pastor, from 1743 to 1765. In 1746, a meeting-house was erected on Salem Street; the church was known in later years as the Baldwin Place and the Warren Avenue Church. Never strong, its membership, after forty years, was only forty-three. It is said that among the British soldiers, in 1768, there were Methodists who held services. About 1771 or 1772, a small society was formed, which failed to last long. Methodism made its great advance after the Revolution, but of this there is somewhat yet to be written.

The Revolution and Religion—The closing years of the Provincial period are notable for several changes of religious thought and practice. The Revolution brought a separation of the "wheat from the tares" as regarding the government of the New World; there was a strong drift in the Puritan Church towards Unitarianism; and the Methodist Episcopal had become established through the preaching of Jesse Lee, Whitefield and others. All churches stood for good government, and were loyal to it; but the question of what was the right government divided public opinion, and wrought havoc with the congregations of several churches. So too, the spirit of inquiry had invaded the Congregational churches, and there had been a great breaking away from accustomed doctrines, methods of belief and teaching. The unsettled faith of the orthodox congre-

gations opened the door to new and more interesting modes of worship, such as were presented by Methodism.

The Episcopal church was the principal sufferer from changing political conditions. It had been an intruder; never a church of the people, but one kept alive by the favor of English Governors. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Reverend Doctor Henry Caner was rector of King's Chapel, and the Reverend Doctor William Walter, rector of Trinity. Both of these clergymen fled to Halifax at the evacuation of Boston in 1776. At Christ Church, Reverend Doctor Mather Byles, Jr., had resigned in 1775. Parts of the liturgy had been changed, but aside from this, little sign had been shown by the Episcopal churches of any willingness to adapt themselves to the changing patriotic feelings of the day. The denomination was all but wiped out by the events of the Revolution. As summed up in 1778 by Reverend Joshua Wingate, a minister of the Church of England, the condition of the churches of his faith in Boston was: "Trinity Church is still open, the prayers for the King and Royal Family etc., being omitted. The King's Chapel is being made use of by a dissenting congregation. The French have received leave of Congress to make use of Christ Church for the purposes of worship; but the proprietors of it, having notice of this, persuaded Mr. Parker to preach in it every Sunday in the afternoon, by which means it remains untouched. . . . In a word, our ecclesiastical affairs wear a very gloomy aspect at present in that part of the world." He might have written this of the whole of the new nation.

Rise of the Episcopal Church of America—The position of the Episcopal Church, both in Boston and in other parts of the country, at the end of the Revolution was one of needing to struggle for very existence, to separate itself from English influence and throw itself heartily into the interests of the new Nation. In 1784 thirteen clergymen of the church met in New Brunswick to see what could be made of the remnants of the church. And during that same year seven ministers of New England held a meeting in Boston for the same purpose. The next year, at a larger meeting in Philadelphia, September 27, 1785, vital changes of organization were made, changes which were definitely fixed by the Convention of Philadelphia in 1789. Meanwhile Doctor Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, had been consecrated to the episcopate in Scotland in 1784; and in 1787 the Reverend William White and the Reverend Doctor Samuel Provoost, of New York, had been consecrated bishops in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, thus providing the newly organized church with bishops, without which there could be no Episcopal church in America. On May 7, 1797, the Reverend Doctor Edward Bass, of Newburyport, was consecrated in Christ Church of Philadelphia, to be Bishop of the Diocese

of Massachusetts; and the churches of Boston became subjects of his Episcopal care.

One of the first difficulties to be settled by the awakened Episcopal organization was what should be done about the status of the King's Chapel Society. A Mr. James Freeman, a man of twenty-three, had been installed as reader in 1782, and as pastor in 1783. Within a few years Mr. Freeman told his congregation that his opinions had undergone a change inconsistent with the faith under which he had been ordained, and that he would like certain parts of the liturgy altered to accord with his new ideas. These alterations were eventually made, consisting principally in the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity. Thus the oldest Episcopal church in America became the first of the Unitarian churches. The members counted themselves as still Episcopalians, and desired the formal ordination of Mr. Freeman. This was refused after much discussion, and on November 18, 1787, Doctor Thomas Bulfinch, acting for the congregation, ordained Mr. Freeman to be "rector, minister, priest, pastor, teaching elder, and public teacher," of their society.

Arminianism—Unitarianism vs. Congregationalism—This was not only the first, but the only Boston church that was definitely Unitarian in faith and practice, but it is thought that by 1780 nearly all the Congregational pulpits in and around Boston were filled with Unitarians. Not that they were known by this title, the term applied to their faith being Arminianism. It was not until the next century that the modern term came into general use, but the dogma designated by the name was openly preached and professed for a half century before it was called Unitarian. The earliest intimation of dissent from Boston Calvinism was in connection with the settlement of Jonathan Mayhew as pastor of the West Church in 1747. He made public profession of his unorthodoxy, and probably had a congregation in sympathy with his ideas. But he was regarded as a heretic by Congregationalists, and none of the Boston pastors were present at his ordination. Mayhew died in 1766.

There seem to have been many factors in the quiet rise of Unitarianism in so strong a Puritan center. One would expect so radical a change in faith to be marked by a series of cataclysms that would rend the very foundations of religion. But somehow the new belief crept in gradually, its very liberality of thought precluding the spirit of propagandism. The clergy were not secretive about their change of ideas, but showed little zeal in forcing them upon others. It was only when a revival of the earlier theology brought out the contrast between Unitarianism and the Trinitarian faith, that lines were drawn, and the two became sharply opposed to each other. Possibly there was a let down in religion as a whole, particularly during the Revolutionary period, when men's minds

and energies were so engaged in the fight for liberty as to forget the force that had brought the Puritans to this country and had made the idea of liberty possible. But this must be granted, if Boston showed a wider divergence from the straight line of orthodoxy, at this time, than any other community in the United States, it also "was at least on a level with the best in the observances, sanctities, and moralities of the Christian life."

Reasons for the Growth of Unitarianism—Reverend Alexander P. Peabody, D. D., L. L. D., accounts for the conditions of things leading to the rise of Unitarianism thiswise:

"The Whitefieldian movement, with its extravagance, fanaticism, and intolerance, had been followed by a strong reaction, especially among persons of education and refinement. Equally had the more passive, yet more rigid, type of Orthodoxy encountered a growing repugnancy wherever it was not received with implicit and unquestioning faith. Nor had the Revolutionary War and the new political interests and relations been void of influence on religious belief and profession. The same spirit that had spurned civil rule from abroad was slow to detect or suspect the coercive element in creeds and confessions of faith. A more liberal *régime*, if not logically, yet not unnaturally, postulated a broader theological platform. Then, too, among the English Unitarians were some of the most prominent and active friends of the colonies during the conflict with the mother country. Meanwhile, in the disturbed condition of the secular affairs, those who else would have been the guardians of Orthodoxy had relaxed their vigilance. The clergy of the Revolution, to whom the country owes eternal gratitude, did not, as has sometimes been alleged, preach politics instead of religion; but in their strenuous efforts to hallow patriotism by sermon, prayer, psalm, and hymn, those of them who held the traditional faith of their fathers laid less emphatic stress upon it, and were the more tolerant of departure from it, than they would have been at an earlier or later period."

Further consideration of the growth of Unitarianism in Boston must be put aside to a later chapter. It is enough to know here, that in 1790 at least one Episcopal, and all but two of the sixteen Congregational churches of Boston, and of the towns which have since become a part of Boston, were led by ministers who were Unitarian in belief. The Old South Church held to the Trinitarian faith, and the pastor, Mr. Wright, of the Hollis Street church may have been a Calvinist. Of the suburban places now included in Boston, Charlestown First Church, with the Reverend Doctor Morse as its pastor, was the sole stronghold of Orthodoxy in the region. Doctor Gordon, pastor of the Jamaica Plain Society, was himself a Calvinist, but his congregation had little sympathy for his theological opinions.

Whitefield and Methodism—One other religious movement of the Provincial period requires explanation, the Whitefieldian, or Methodist. Sometimes this is called, in older histories, "The Great Awakening," and its beginnings placed back in 1734 when the powerful preaching of Jonathan Edwards stirred the consciences of men and churches. This movement seems to have affected Boston but little, although it was kept informed concerning it by the pastors of the various congregations. The town was to be touched by the hands of a stranger with amazing results. George Whitefield, a young minister of the Church of England, then preaching in Georgia, was invited to Boston by Doctor Colman of the Brattle Street Church. Whitefield, at this time, was in full accord with the Wesleys, his break with them over Calvinism occurring after his departure from Boston. He was, therefore, as a member of the Oxford Methodist entitled to be called a Methodist Episcopalian, and the first minister of that faith to come to Boston. Whitefield arrived in September, 1740, and began preaching in several churches and on the Common in Boston, as well as in the neighboring towns. Throngs came to hear him; when he preached his farewell sermon in October, twenty thousand people are said to have collected to hear him. He revisited the town time after time, and until his death in 1770 at Newburyport, he was an important element of the religious history of Boston. There can be no question of the tremendous power he exerted, nor the great results of his preaching. The converts of the "Great Awakening" in which he was so prominent were numbered by the tens of thousands. "His labors here," says one of him, "as elsewhere, in his grand itinerations, were preparing the way for those heroic successors who have made the planting and growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church a marvel to the students of American church history."

The Methodists in Boston—The first missionaries sent by Wesley to this country were the Reverends Boardman and Pillmore; Boardman coming to Boston in 1772. A church of the denomination was established but ceased to exist a few years later. In 1787, the Reverend Freeman Garretson, "fresh from the founding of Methodism in Halifax, N. S., passed through Boston." Finding members of the former church, he planned to return and reorganize it as a society. But his work elsewhere so engrossed his attention, that it was not until 1790 that he did return but failed to stay long enough to found a church. He did meet and send later, Reverend Jesse Lee, a worthy successor to Whitefield, who, in 1792, established the first permanent Methodist Episcopal Church in New England. A Methodist class was formed in Boston, July 13, 1792, meeting in a school house in the North End, with Asbury, later bishop, preaching. In 1793, Amos G. Thompson was the minister; in 1794,

Christopher Spry ; in 1795, John Harper. On August 28, 1795, the cornerstone of the First Methodist Episcopal Church was laid by the Reverend Jesse Lee, the edifice being dedicated May 16, 1796. This early church was a small plain building on what is now Hanover Avenue, and was only thirty-six feet by forty-six in size. The membership numbered forty, poor so that the building was heavily in debt, and not finished until 1800.

The depressed financial condition of Boston held the Methodist Church in check more, probably, than it did others, but once the War of 1812 was settled and the town began to wend its way back to commercial prosperity, the spread of Methodism was prompt and remarkable. It was one of the few churches whose percentage of increase in membership kept pace with that of the population. Some have explained the rise of this denomination as due to the eloquence of its early ministers. But it would seem that it was owing largely to the adaptation of the religious views that they represented to the minds and interests of their hearers. Said one eminent Congregational divine :

"There was evidently an aptitude in the public mind to receive the Methodist faith and form of worship. Nor is it difficult to show how this came about. Old Orthodoxy, tinctured with Arminianism, and cooled down to a luke-warm temperature in its delivery from the desk, had become the characteristic of the Sabbath-day instructions in many pulpits, as it had been prior to the Great Awakening in 1740 ; and nothing could have been more favorable to the success of an earnest loud-spoken ministry. In his doctrinal teaching, Jesse Lee, the pioneer of the denomination in these parts, suited such as were of Arminian tendencies ; in his fervent style of address he was acceptable to many warm hearted Calvinists tired of dull preaching. What with both of these adaptations to the wants of the people, no wonder Methodism had a rapid growth. Something of the kind was inevitable. The wild enthusiasm of the Quakers had long since disappeared, and their numbers were diminishing. The Martyr spirit which animated the first generation of Baptists had subsided with the removal of their civil disabilities, and their religious zeal suffered a proportional decline. If Jesse Lee had not come to Massachusetts, some one else, pressed in spirit, Like Paul at Athens, 'when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry', would have found utterance, and would have found followers."

The Religious Situation at the End of the Eighteenth Century—But we must bring to a close the story of the first two periods of the religious history of Boston. It covered nearly half of the time the city has been settled. Twenty-three churches are the total of those established, the most of which were Congregational, there being only seven of other

faiths and these were all relatively weak. The population had increased from a family or two to 22,000, or a church to every thousand inhabitants. There has been a remarkable multiplication of religious societies since, but the proportion today is only about one church to two thousand residents. There are now more denominations than there were individual churches at the half way mark in 1780. This increase in denominations is the principal characteristic of the last one hundred and fifty years, for so feeble were the beginnings of other than Puritan sects during the first century and a half, that the part they played in religious history was exceedingly small except as they influence the growth of the original church.

Unitarianism, as a distinct belief and church, did not come to the fore until well on into the nineteenth century; the American Unitarian Association was not formed until 1825. The period of the first marked growth in the Methodist Church was from 1834 to 1853 when fourteen churches were added to the original three in Boston. Baptist societies multiplied a bit earlier than the Methodist. To the five churches organized before 1820, five were added during the next decade, five during the next, and eleven within the next eleven years. Just after the War of 1812, the Episcopal churches numbered two with a total membership of two hundred communicants. Within the next twelve years St. Matthew's and St. Paul's churches were founded. By 1843, in the region that is now Boston there were seven Episcopal parishes; there were only two more added until well after the Civil War.

Meanwhile other denominations entered the religious life of the city. Universalism as a dissent to the Unitarian drift which had led to the establishment of Methodism and to the Trinitarian belief which had brought Unitarianism into being, had interested men since Doctor George de Benneville's time (1741) but can hardly be said to have a representation among the churches of Boston until 1785 when the small Mather Church on Hanover Street was purchased and a small society of Universalists formed. A Second Society of Universalists was incorporated in 1816; the Third was formed in 1823; a Fourth in Roxbury, 1824; and a Fifth in South Boston in 1830; the Shawmut dates from 1836. Other congregations were formed during the middle period of the nineteenth century, until there were twelve societies of the Universalist faith in the area which is now Boston. The present churches number six, and while fewer in number than formerly, Boston still retains its position as the center of Universalism in this country.

The Catholic Church—A century and a half ago, what is now the strongest of the churches in Boston, had no single edifice in the town. The number of Catholics in Boston were estimated as less than 100 in

1790, and were, for the most part, either French, Irish, or Spanish, having neither church organizations, places of worship, nor established priests. Reverend John Thayer, a native of the town, who had been a Congregational minister but had become a convert to the Catholic faith, was sent to Boston to establish a mission, and have charge of the few Catholics in the place. This was January 4, 1790, and he founded what may be called the first regular church society of Roman Catholics in Boston. The growth of the church was slow until the middle of the century, when the influx of Irish emigrants made it necessary to create many organizations, and build many edifices to care for this new increase in the population. Shortly after the Civil War the Roman Catholic denomination progressed by leaps and bounds until it became the principal church in Boston, a position it still holds. The Catholic population in 1880 was estimated at 150,000. These worshipped "in 30 churches, attended by 90 priests, under the guidance of their arch-bishop. There were 10 Parochial schools, chiefly conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame. They had 3 colleges and academies in the city, 5 orphan asylums, 3 hospitals, and a home for their aged poor."

Most of the additional denominations in Boston founded during the latter half of the nineteenth century were the result of the coming of peoples from other lands whose form of religion they brought with them. The Jews had synagogues, two at least by 1860, and other Mediterranean folk were enjoying services in their native tongue. Probably every major country, and many of the smaller nations, had churches of their own faith in Boston by 1875.

Christian Science Church—Of purely American religions, only one of the several which have risen in Boston within the last hundred years has thrived, and this single exception has become world wide. Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, of New England birth and parentage, started the movement that culminated in the Christian Science Church, whose "Mother Church," The First Church of Christ, Scientist, is one of the most splendid of the many church edifices of Boston. The first Scientist organization was formed on July 4, 1876, in Charlestown, with seven persons including Mrs. Eddy. In 1878, she began the giving of public lectures in rented halls, and, in 1883, secured the Hawthorne Rooms at 3 Park Street. After meeting in various rented places, the First Church built the original unit of their present meeting house, in 1895, on Falmouth, Norway and St. Paul streets. The new auditorium seating five thousand, was added in 1906.

CHAPTER IV.

REVIEW OF EARLY MILITARY HISTORY.

The settlement of Boston seems to have been effected without any collision with the Indians, or the necessity of satisfying any claims of ownership made by the aborigine. The great plague, the nature of which is not even now known surely, had well nigh extirpated the natives of eastern Massachusetts some dozen or so years before the arrival of the Plymouth settlers. The peninsula upon which Winthrop and the Puritans located was a deserted place save for the farm of Mr. Blackstone, and the whites felt free to take possession without bothering to consider the rights of any former native owners. Nor does there appear in the early records evidence of any claim being made to the area by the Indians during the first half century. Of the later negotiations by which a deed was secured from Chickataubut and others little is known beyond the fact that such a deed was secured and put on file in 1708. It is strange that the many references to Chickataubut in the diary of Winthrop did not include mention of a sale to the inhabitants of Boston by the chief if such a sale had been made. Chickataubut lived at Neponset. He failed to make any early claim to the ownership of the peninsula, or if he did, never formally conveyed the land to the English. He evidently welcomed the visitors and placed himself under their patronage.

The Indians Deed Boston to the Puritans—There is an ancient Indian deed of Boston, the first and only one, bearing the date 1685. In a town meeting of June 18, 1685, a committee was appointed to purchase any claim, "legal or pretended," which the Indians might advance to "Deare Island, the Necke of Boston, or any parte thereof." The Indian chief consulted in the matter was a grandson of Chickataubut, one Wampatuck, or as he was known by the settlers, Charles Josias. The deed declares Chickataubut "upon the first coming of the English, for the encouragement thereof, did grant, sell, alienate, and confirm unto them and their assigns forever, all that Neck of land, in order to their settling and building a Town there, now known by the name of Boston, as is environed by the Sea, and the line of Roxbury, and the island called Deer Island, about two leagues easterly from Boston, &c.,—which have been quietly possessed by the said English for the space of about five and fifty years last past." The deed was signed with the marks of the chief and some of his Indian counselors, witnessed and acknowledged before magistrates. The document records the passing of a large sum of money, but curiously enough the amount is not mentioned.

This whole belated recording of a sale is hard to understand, unless it is considered a clever scheme of the Bostonians to have some apparent legal right to the peninsula if King James persisted in his determination to take from the Massachusetts Bay Colony their rights under the charter. A comparison of dates brings out that, in 1684, the original charter had been withdrawn, and late in 1686 Sir Edmund Andros arrived bearing a commission as Governor of New England. One of his first acts was to declare the landholders of the colony to be mere tenants of the King's land, and that title to the lands upon which they lived had been forfeited when the charter had been withdrawn. James the Second yielded up his throne to William of Orange and Mary, with the change the reign of Andros in New England ended, but the colony never had returned to it the charter rights under which it had been settled, so that it was quite natural that any failure to have secured their lands from the Indians was now repaired. The title, henceforth, to Boston Necke rested upon purchase from the aborigine, hence the belated bill of sale dated 1685-86, and recorded in the county of Suffolk in 1708.

It is doubtful whether the early purchases of land from the Indians meant any more to the Puritans than it did to the Indian. Certainly the aborigine did not know what he was doing. The Indians had no idea of ownership corresponding to that of the English. He was a nomad, he never remained in one region or upon one bit of land to establish what the English recognized as the right to land by possession and use. Only the Five Nations, or the Iroquois of central New York, had as far as is known, held to a region for any long period, and even they had driven from the territory the tribes who had preceded them.

Indian Ideas of Land Ownership—Tribal warfare was common, but even this seems to have been carried on as a means of getting possession of members of the other tribe, or to revenge an indignity, rather than to have control over a region. The Indian wandered where he listed; he was dependent upon a wide range of territory to supply him with subsistence. The forests and the prairies must be left in their primeval state if they were to continue to yield the game, the pelts, the roots and other food. There must be no thrusting of roads into their depths, nor must the odor of the habitation of man remain anywhere long enough to drive away the wild creatures. The streams were the Indian's highway; they were also the home of the spawning fish, the most reliable source of food for both himself and the maize which he planted. These streams must be kept free from dams and unpolluted, or they would fail in their supplies.

With such ideas in his mind, and unable to conceive of a race that could think and live differently, it is not surprising that the Indian sold for a few gifts the equal rights with himself to the land, and when he



OLD STREET VIEW OF BOSTON

found that the whites acted as though they had the sole right to the land, the aborigine became hostile. The Indian thought of the earth and all there is therein as belonging to a God, the privileges of living in and by it, being loaned to all until they were called to an even greater and better "hunting ground." When the white man, just a few of him, came to hunt and live awhile in the God-owned territory, he was welcomed. The beneficence of the whites in giving them as presents some of the things they needed most, and were the hardest to secure, was highly appreciated. The very odd custom of these same visitors of producing a "talking leaf" upon which were many curious marks and upon which they insisted that the Indian make also each one a mark meant little. If it pleased the visitors, all was well. Even the fact that the newcomers built themselves substantial tepees, as though they intended to stay long in one place, stirred only contempt, for the savage had learned through long and hard experience that this could not be done with safety. Not only did that manner of living drive away the animals upon which life depended, but it made sick both land and people. The plague that had almost wiped them out had taught them this; the fields that were cultivated too long had given them many a lesson. They looked with a kindly contempt upon a people whose habits doomed them to destruction, but whom, for a time they aided as the expected sickness overtook them, and the natural food supplies driven away by their settlement became too distant for any but the Indians to secure.

White Man's Ideas of Land Tenure—Whatever may be the later history of the Indians, there is no doubt that their first greeting to the whites was friendly, and that they were very liberal in sharing their hunting grounds and often their possessions. But the white man was in no sense kin to the copper race in ideas, habits or affections. And what made for trouble, the white man was intolerant of any who had different ideas, habits and religion. He had notions of land tenure which did not admit of any sharing of it with anybody. He fenced the Indian from much of the best, dammed the streams, spoiled the game country, and set up a code of association with the Indians that too soon amounted to oppression. The complete dissimilarity of the two races in almost every respect made it utterly impossible that the two could live in amity in the same region. One only could survive, and the repeated wars that racked the colony for a century were inevitable. It was a war of races, a struggle where the fittest would be the victor.

Plans for the Conversion of the Aborigines—It cannot be questioned that the Puritans were sincere in their stated intention of "converting the savage" when they came to this country. Cradock, in a letter to Endi-

cott, March, 1629, bade him "be not unmindful of the main end of our plantation, by endeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel" and to keep a watchful eye upon the colonists that "they may be just and courteous to the Indians," winning their love and respect and persuading some of the children to be trained in learning and religion. The charter emphasized the duty of the settlers to the Indian, and those who availed themselves of the privileges it gave them, professed with many reiterations, that they considered themselves missionaries of the Christian religion, and heralds of civilization to the heathen.

It was because they considered the aborigine heathen that there could be no peace. The Spanish came to America with the cry, "Be saved or die." If they chose to be saved, they were made servants. The French were fanatic in their zeal for the cross. But they could live as the savage lived, intermarry, were martial in their activities, drawing closer to the heart of the Indian than did any other race. Although but few, and living in a harsher part of the continent than the English of New England, they all but drove the latter from a place in the north. Then, too, the Catholic religion seems to have been more suited to the Indian taste, more adapted to their understanding, or appreciation.

The Calvinism of the Puritan was a hard, hard thing to impose upon the aborigine. It was, for that matter, rather difficult to sustain among the whites, and the leaders were kept too busy repairing their home fences to have much time to be troubled about the savage at his gate. Whatever the intentions of the Puritans, once in conflict with the Indians, they were forgotten or laid aside.

Boston Free from Indian Invasions—Boston and its immediate neighborhood never were the scenes of any Indian fighting. The terrain was not one which invited hostilities, the narrow neck connecting it with the mainland lending itself too readily to fortification. The settlement also grew so rapidly with its constant accessions from across the sea, that it was too powerful to invite attack. Only on the frontiers were the savages dangerous, but it is to be remembered that the "frontiers of that day were only a dozen miles or so from the shore of Massachusetts Bay." Before the peninsula was occupied by Winthrop, it had been explored carefully, but never an Indian was found in the area, only a tumbled-down wigwam here and there showing that it had ever been occupied by the aborigine. For some reason the rocky and swampy headland had never become a favorite abiding-place of the tribes. Hence it was that Boston held none of the dangers that troubled other settlements, and needed no elaborate stockade or other protective measures to make it safe. Such small contacts as were had with the Indians within the bounds of the town were of a friendly nature or consisted only of the imposing of jus-

tice in minor wrongs, a justice that was measured out to white and copper races with equal severity.

The Bostonians had to go to a distance to take a hand in the conflicts of the day, a duty which devolved upon them because of their numbers and prominence in the colony. Unfortunately, these contacts aroused a hatred and contempt of the savage that grew with the years and pushed far in the background any hope for the "salvation of the original race that once occupied New England." Before the end of the first half century the Indian had ceased to be considered as more than a harmless farm or house servant, and despised even as such for his laziness and lack of ability.

The Indian Menace Productive of a Martial Spirit—There was one great benefit, an indirect one to be sure, that the Indian brought to the Puritan. Because the savage was an ever-present menace in some part of the colony and because of his later union with the French martial spirit of the pioneers, he led them into forming military units. The English country-side from which the Puritans came was not one noted for its warriors, although Cromwell found them capable fighters when he called to arms. It is quite conceivable that had the Puritans in this country not become involved in almost continuous warfare with the Indian, there might never have been a people in Massachusetts so ready to fight for its rights, one so trained in military affairs as to be thoroughly capable of effective defense once a conflict had been precipitated. Skirmishes with the Indians, battles with the French and their savage allies, the founding of military units and the almost continuous training and use of them, all made the folk along the Bay ready for the greater warfare of the Revolution. A review of the military affairs of the colony and province is worthy of careful notice if only to see the development of an unmartial people to the stage where they were prepared to resist the oppression of a great and militant nation. The brave gesture of a small colony in defying a truly great country to enforce its law would have been ludicrous, had there not been behind the gesture a genuine fighting heart and some modicum of military genius and experience. The Indian turned the minds of a religious people towards war; from organizing churches to forming a militia. In facing savagery they became savage, and by overcoming a minor race they were bold to contend with the French in the north and the English in their own town when the time came.

Early Boston Military Organizations—The two oldest surviving military units in the United States were organized through a fear of the hostility of the Indians upon whose land the colonists were constantly encroaching. On March 22, 1631, the Court of Assistants ordered all

towns to be placed under military supervision, and to have by April 5 companies and arms. These units were established in "Charlestowne, Newtowne (now Cambridge), Watertowne, Concord & Deddam." On December 7, 1636, the General Court ordered three regiments formed "from all military men in this jurisdiction." The order specified that all the companies already mentioned "be one regiment whereof John Haynes Esqr. shalbee colonell & Rogr Herlakenden Esqr, Leiftenant colonell." The regiment was named the "North," and when in 1643 the Massachusetts Bay Colony was divided into shires, the North Regiment became the Middlesex Regiment, functioning as such for thirty-seven years. As towns sprang up, their quota of military men were added to the regiment until it included "Sudberry, Woodburne, Meadford, and Linn Village (Reding)." Without going further into the interesting history of this military body—it will be noted at length later—it is enough for our purpose to state that evidence placed before the War Department late in December, 1926, traced without a break its line of succession down to the 182d Infantry, Massachusetts National Guard, of the present day. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Boston's pride, and, until very recent years, considered the oldest military organization in the country, was chartered in March, 1638, as "The Military Company of Boston." Robert Keayne, one of the chief promoters of the new unit, was its first captain. It was recognized as an artillery company in 1657 by the General Court; the title "Honorable" being assumed in 1700 because many of its members had been associated in a like-named organization in London. Its history is summarized elsewhere in this work, for it has always played a prominent part in the Boston affairs both military, municipal and social.

Both of these two organizations were born of a need growing out of increasing difficulties with the Indians, developed strength in Indian fighting, and matured in the three great wars of the United States—the Revolution, the Civil Conflict, and the World War.

The Pequot War—The first of the ruthless wars waged by soldiers from Boston and other towns of the colony was brought about by quarrels between neighboring tribes. Three of these, the Narragansetts, the Mohegans and the Pequots, dwelt in strips of territory between Rhode Island and the Hudson River. The Mohegans were tributaries of the Pequots, and were restive under the forced union. One of the Mohegans came to Boston in 1631, trying to interest the whites in his tribe's affairs by making promises of profitable trading if some of their number would but come and locate on the Connecticut River. A few years later, 1633, a group of traders, under a Captain Stone, of Virginia, while traveling up the stream, were attacked by the Pequots and murdered. The Boston

magistrates threatened to punish the miscreants, but nothing effective was done.

English families from Cambridge, Dorchester and other towns settled along the Connecticut, 1636, and during that same year, John Oldham, of Watertown, was one of the first to be slain by the Indians from Block Island. The Bay Colony threatened to kill every male savage on the island, but did little more than burn over their cornfields and destroy a few wigwams. The net result was to irritate the Pequots and increase their contempt of the whites. All that winter the tribe captured, tortured and slew one by one the pioneers in their section, until the number reached thirty. The folk in Connecticut had to take the offensive or gradually be wiped out. A request for help was sent to Boston and her neighboring towns. Massachusetts raised a company of one hundred and sixty men. Meanwhile John Mason, a former resident of Dorchester, in command of such troops as were on the ground, with the Mohegans as allies, moved against the Pequots, bringing them to bay in one of their stockades near the Mystic. Of the Massachusetts soldiers, only twenty, under Captain Underhill, actually took part in the affray. The Indians were surprised at night, and with fire, steel and lead were attacked with a savagery quite equal to anything the Indian had shown. No quarter was given. A few of the Indians escaped to another fort, but the reinforced white men slaughtered them with even greater viciousness. It was but a few hours when all was over as far as the Pequots were concerned. What few had escaped took to the swamps with their old, their wives and children, where they were surrounded by the English forces. After a parley, the aged and children were allowed to surrender; the most of the remnant were slain. A few of the prisoners were sold as slaves to the West Indies; some were made servants in the homes of the English. In no contemporaneous account of this affair is anything but approval given of the deed. The Puritans felt themselves the "Chosen of the Lord," doing the work of Jehovah in thus wreaking vengeance upon the heathen. Whatever of obligation was felt by the first comers to the aborigine whose land they took, it soon passed into indifference, then to a hate that determined on the extinction of the race. Nor was the Puritan alone in arriving at such an opinion and pushing it to its logical conclusion. Practically every white colony on the American coast did its best, and worst, to obliterate the Indian. To sum up the first punitive expedition of the colonists: the white forces had two killed; the Pequots, a tribe estimated to number 3,000, were slain or consigned to a living death. As a tribe they were known no more.

King Philip's War—King Philip's War, culminating in 1676, was but the inevitable result of the attitude of the Puritan towards the Indian.

As "the enemies of the Puritans," to quote the words of one of the pastors, "were the enemies of God," the Indian had either to submit to the dominance of the white man or be put to the sword. The new country could not be God's country until the "devils that infested it should be removed." Roger Williams had milder ideas of conquering the Indian. John Eliot had made a brave experiment at Natick, and in gathering together the "Praying Indians" of New England. He had done even a more notable thing in translating the Bible into the savage vernacular, although he could not transmute its teachings into Indian hearts and lives. Before the outbreak of Philip, he had told Eliot that he cared no more for his religion than he did for the "Apostle's" button which he held in his hand while speaking.

The war that followed threatened the very existence of the white race in New England. Had there been any great unity among the tribes, it is probable that they could have wiped the English settlements from off the earth. As it was, the copper peril came nearer to Boston than it ever had before, although none of the warfare was carried on close to the town. No attempt need be made here to trace the course of Philip's War except as it touched the Boston settlement. The Governor of the colony, and the Military Committee were Boston men, and most of the direction of the warfare came from the council chamber in the Boston Town House. From this locality, if we include all the present area of the city, came a large part of the Massachusetts soldiers who fought in the various sections of the country where battles were decided. It is said that within three hours after the call to arms against the foe, Boston had gathered together one hundred and ten men, ready to march down into Rhode Island and Connecticut, where the danger was then present. John Leverett, the Governor, was an old soldier and probably wanted to lead the campaign himself, but his presence was needed at home.

Philip had alarmed the people of Swansea by attacking two nearby houses and advancing on the town, but meeting opposition had returned to Mount Hope, continuing his depredations in the vicinity. Both Plymouth and the Bay colonies were thoroughly aroused by the coming to a head of the trouble that had been brewing since the Pequot skirmish, and all lower New England prepared for war, hoping to quench the ardor of Philip before the Indian insurrection spread. Messengers were sent to the Narragansetts and Nipmucks to warn them not to give aid to Philip. A small army was sent, "three hundred foot and about eighty horses, besides several carts laden with provisions and munition and armes two vessels with provisions and munitions to supply the forces. The Council has appointed a fast for tomorrow to seek God in this matter for a blessing upon our forces. Major-General Dennison was chosen general

of these forces but was taken sick and Captain Savage is sent commander-in-chief. Captain Prentice is Commander of the Horse, and Captain Henchman and Captain Mosley, Captain of the Foot."

Boston Leaders—All this is from Leverett's letter written to the Governor of Connecticut, dated June 28, 1675. There were eight companies in Boston at this time, the captains of which were: Thomas Clarke, Thomas Savage, James Oliver, William Hudson, Daniel Henchman, John Richards, John Hull and (John) Clarke. The commander mentioned by the Governor as taking the place of the ill Dennison was the father of Perez Savage, who later was captain of a Boston company. Both father and son fought with distinction during the war, Perez being wounded several times. Thomas, in addition to being the chief of this expedition into Rhode Island, was appointed one of the War Committee, and the next year became treasurer as a successor to Richard Russell.

Henchman, a former teacher in the Latin school, fought and handled his men with skill all through the conflict, becoming the most prominent of the Boston representatives as the war went on.

Samuel Mosely was one of those swash-buckling, picturesque individuals who belongs rather on the page of a romantic novel than in a quiet record of Indian fighting. It is related of him, that having taken fifteen friendly Indians from their stronghold in Marlborough, he sent them tied together to Boston to be tried for an attack on Lancaster. At another time, in the heat of battle, he removed his wig and hung it on a tree, thereby taking a very unfair advantage of his Indian foe, for what was the use in fighting a man who scalped himself? In the second year of the war he proposed the raising of another company, the pay for which he was willing to receive from the captives he made.

Although Boston men were never in any of the massacres of Philip's War, the town lost as great a proportion of her men as did others. A fifth of the Massachusetts troops came from Boston, this being about the relative proportion of her citizens to that of the colony—the population of the colony being about 25,000 at this time. About fifty Boston folk lost their lives, including the four captains of companies, Davenport, Johnson, Mosely and Hutchinson.

Eliot's Disciples Moved to Deer Island—The town suffered all the terrors from rumors that any place does which is not in the fighting zone, without any of the dangers. All manner of rules were made to prevent even a single savage from entering the tight little peninsula. Eliot's "Praying Indians" of Natick, two hundred of them at first, were penned up on Deer Island, much to the distaste of Boston. Later there were five hundred or more crowded together on the Island, which worried the town

even more. The Indians had come without resistance, and the cooping up, semi-starvation, and ill protection from the cold of the winter rendered them incapable of resistance had there been any urge towards this end.

King Philip had a habit of deserting his women and children in stress of war, leaving them open to ready capture. Captured they were, but fearing, perhaps, to keep many of them as house or farm servants, their captors shipped them to the West Indies, where they were sold into slavery. The most of this business was carried on through Boston. Whatever of profit there may have been in these transactions, it in no way covered the monetary losses of the war. Special taxes were laid, the churches contributed liberally to the poor and the towns which suffered most, and the sums raised for the warriors in the field were far beyond the means of so youthful a colony.

As to the prosecution of the war, the initial efforts of the English did little more than scatter the Indians as firebrands might be scattered through a wood—separating them, but only caused a greater conflagration. The towns to the west, even as far as Springfield, Westfield, Hadley and Hatfield became points of attack. The Narragansetts were wiped out as a power on December 13, 1675, when Johnson and Davenport, at the head of their men, were slain at Tower Hill on Narragansett Bay. The casualties totaled nearly a hundred—thirty-one killed and sixty-seven wounded. Many of those killed or wounded came from Boston and the towns now a part of it.

The Last Campaigns—The victorious army returned to Boston, much to the joy of the belligerent stay-at-homes. The soldiers could not remain for long, for that winter saw the severest engagements of the whole campaign. Probably the most condensed account of the events, written by a contemporary, is that of Captain Hull. In his diary he wrote, and nothing is left out that bears directly on the war:

“Feb. 10, Lancaster spoiled by the enemy. 21st, Medfield in part burned by ditto. March 13, Groton burned. 26th, Marlborough burned in part. 28th, Rehoboth assaulted. April 18th, Sudbury part burned by the enemy. Capt. Wadsworth, Capt. Brocklebanck and fifty soldiers slain. May 8th, some houses burned at Bridgewater. 11th, some also toward Plymouth. 18th, the Fall Fight, many Indians slain. 24th, Captain William Davis died. June 29th, day of thanksgiving. Aug. 12, Sagamore Philip, who began the war, was slain.”

With Philip's death, the war was practically brought to an end, although fighting still continued to the east until the Treaty of Casco, in 1678. In the proclamation of the annual thanksgiving in December the statement was made: “Of those several tribes and parties that have

hitherto risen up against us, which were not a few, there now remains scarce a family of name of them in their former habitations but are either slain, captivated, or fled into the remote parts of the wilderness, to lie hid, despairing of their intentions against us."

Never again was there an important Indian war, inspired and led by Indians. And never again did our forefathers regain any of the kindly feelings towards the savage that marked some of their first contacts with this race. The contempt, the hatred aroused by the Pequot expedition was mightily increased by the events of Philip's War. No longer did the fear of an Indian uprising harass the minds of the Puritans. Much they may have lacked of experience in arms before this had been supplied. They knew they could fight, and the nucleus of a force ready to go forth to meet any foe was present in the companies and men who were now veterans. As summed up by one not of their number: "The late wars have hardened their infantry, made them good firemen, and taught them the ready use of their arms."

The Revocation of the Charter Threatened—No sooner had Boston and its neighbors overcome one danger than another confronted them. After many years of handling their own state affairs under the charter granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company, this privilege was threatened. A new King had come to the throne of England, Charles II, to whose attention was drawn to the various oversteppings of the charter rights by the New England colonists. Before King Philip's War, 1664, commissioners had been sent to look into the affairs of the New England Colonies. Everything had been satisfactory to these men until they arrived at Boston where their power as representatives of the King was not recognized. Nor could satisfaction be gotten by the King and his men in ways direct or otherwise. New England sought only delay, hoping, possibly, that a changing crown might alight upon another head, one favorable to the colony. The tactics of the colonists did not prevail. In 1684, the Court of Chancery declared the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company vacated. In May, 1686, the British frigate "Rose" brought to Boston Randolph with commissions for a new government, and the colony was at an end. Joseph Dudley was the provisional royal appointee.

In December of the same year, Sir Edmund Andros arrived as the Governor of the Province of New England. It is probable that no ruler sent from England could have pleased the people, but Andros, efficient as he had been in other royal appointments, failed utterly in his management of the present one. He offended the religious leaders with his first act by setting up the English service in South Church. He brought consternation to the affairs of the people by declaring that with the with-

drawn charter had gone the titles to the land, that they were now merely tenants of the King instead of landholders. It is unnecessary to relate here the whole story of the rising anger that later swept Andros from the colony.

Andros Driven from the Colony—There were rumors in 1689 that James II had been displaced as regent by William of Orange and Mary. It soon was felt by the people that if the King who had sent Andros could be deposed, so could the King's agent. Just what is the secret history behind the events that followed will never be known. Cotton Mather, the younger, wrote, in the *Life of Reverend Cotton Mather*: "Then a Strange Disposition entered into the Body of our people to assert our Liberties against the Arbitrary Rulers that were fleecing them." Mather further explains the provisions made by the leaders for preventing "a bloody revolution" by taking the lead in any outbreak, and quietly guiding the course taken by "an ungoverned multitude." But with all the wise provisions, there was an uprising purely of the people. First to the south of Boston, and soon after to the north, together with troops that came in from the country-side, the mob closed on the royalist officials whom they seized and placed in jail. Andros promptly fled to a fort on Castle Island, but realizing that the constantly increasing throng were quite capable of taking both the fort and him, he discreetly surrendered and was held for some time as a prisoner. A provisional government was established by the insurgent New Englanders, based on that to which they had become accustomed under the old charter.

All this occurred months before authentic news arrived of the accession of William and Mary. Soon word came, to send Andros back to England, the colony, meanwhile, to continue with the government which they had established. Things were moving along in a manner that pleased the belligerent residents of Boston, for they were practically back where they had been before the revocation of the charter. It was, no doubt, with pleasure that they got rid of the despised Andros.

This incident, at first sight, hardly has a place in the military history of Boston. It is related partly to draw attention to the speed with which a religious people were becoming militant. The Bostonians and their friends nearby were developing a readiness for battle that boded ill for any who should attempt to cross them. This had proved to be a bloodless insurrection, but only so because there was order, numbers, and arms behind their demands. Again, and what is of far greater interest, this revolution, whatever it meant to those who had a part in it, was a forerunner of that greater Revolution, the only one so called in American history. The colonist had learned to defend what he thought were his rights against the Indian; in the Andros affair he had proved himself capable of defending what was his against anyone.

French and Indian Wars—The next period in the military history, the so-called French and Indian wars, which extended over nearly a century of interrupted but ever recurring strife, was of a far different character and far greater danger than the Indian skirmishes through which New England had come so successfully. In the wars against the Indians the advantage had been with the Colonials, for they had the arms, the gunpowder, the coats of mail, the intelligence and discipline, and the leadership which placed them far in advance of the savage. In the wars that now followed, they had to meet a combined foe, where the skill and resources of the veteran soldiers of the French were united with the cunning and cruelty of the Indian. It was farmer and churchman against a trained army which had a horde of savage allies. It speaks well for the courage of the colonists, if not for their wisdom, that they never seemed to recognize that they were on the defensive. The wars, for the most part, were carried on in French territory, or at least upon ground to which the ownership had never been determined. Always the plans were for expeditions into Canada, rather than protective measures on behalf of their own homes. The wisest defensive is often a vigorous offensive, and if we are to judge by results, it proved so in the French and Indian wars. Without capable leaders, with the generation that had destroyed the Pequots and defeated Philip now either dead or too old to take the field; with the resources of the colony drained to almost the minus point in freeing New England from the menace of savage attacks, decade after decade the colonists fought stubbornly against the odds that threatened always to overwhelm them, until they settled the question, once for all, that neither France nor the Indian should have any further part or share in the control and destiny of America.

Opening Events—"About the year 1685," wrote Edward Randolph, "The French of Canada encroached upon the lands of the subjects of the Crown of England, building forts upon the heads of the great rivers, and, extending their bounds, disturbed its inhabitants." This seems to have been the first stated recognition of the danger threatening the colonies from the north. Andros, in 1688, made a great tour of the province, supposedly to secure the amity of the Indians. While away, Boston became very greatly excited over alarms that reached the town from Casco Bay, sending troops there. Andros was highly indignant that soldiers should have been levied in his absence and forbade any further proceedings. Instead he marched with a thousand men into the Indian territory, built a fort or two, left garrisons, but failed to come in contact with any of the savages. This and other acts led to the suspicion, unfounded no doubt, that Andros was actually in league with the Indians, a suspicion that may have had something to do with his later overthrow in Boston. When

Bradstreet succeeded Andros as Governor, the garrisons placed in Maine refused to stay there, the most of the troops mutinying and coming home. Indian outbreaks immediately followed, "and the colonists found the absence of Andros was even more dangerous than his presence." At Cocheco, now Dover, New Hampshire, and at Pemaquid, Maine, the aborigines were supremely successful; the capture of Pemaquid being really notable, for this was one of the forts built and garrisoned by Andros and it was taken by what was probably the first sustained and direct attack ever made by the American Indians against a fortified place.

Sir William Phipps Attacks Quebec—Such were the beginnings of the French and Indian wars. The colonists captured Port Royal, a fort garrisoned by seventy men, by sending against it a force of four or five hundred carried by seven vessels. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were claimed, at this period, by Massachusetts. A sailor, Sir William Phipps, was in command of the successful expedition. Over encouraged by this minor victory, a congress of the provinces meeting in New York in May, 1690, decided that the sway of the French should be ended by the capture of Montreal and Quebec. The New Yorkers were to march on Montreal; the New Englanders were to sail to Quebec. It was one of the most foolhardy enterprises conceivable. There was not one real leader at the head of either expedition. The command of the New York contingent was given to General Fitz-John Winthrop, son of the second John Winthrop, who died in Boston November 27, 1707. Phipps was in charge of the Quebec expedition. The place that the sailor-soldier hoped to take, was a natural fortress, protected by the defensive works built by Prevost, a trained engineer, under the direction of Frontenac. It was considered impregnable, manned as it was by 2,700 men, more than the total of the attacking provincials. There is no need to describe the utter failure of this foolhardy expedition. The French boasted afterward that all the damage done could be repaired for twenty crowns.

Nor was the foray under Winthrop any more successful. The Province was utterly cast down by these untoward events. The failure of their soldiery had been complete; the impoverished treasury was called upon to bear the exceedingly large expense incurred; and they were now open to a return attack by the French and their savage allies. Indian hostilities did break out at Haverhill, but fortunately in 1697 England and France came to terms at the peace of Ryswick, which provided that the territorial boundaries of the French and English possessions in America should remain unchanged.

The Second Failure to Take Quebec—In 1702 England became involved in war again, this time against both France and Spain, and with it

the Province. Port Royal, that little place in Nova Scotia now known as Annapolis, became the seat of warfare and after two attempts was captured. In June, 1711, fifteen English ships of war, together with forty transports carrying five veteran regiments arrived in Boston. St. John Bolingbroke "the most brilliant Tory of his time," had planned a great expedition against the French in Canada, the troops and ships sent to Boston being but a part of the wonderful scheme, the colonies as far south as Virginia being expected to furnish the balance of the power and troops there were to drive the foe out of Canada. This was a wonderful time for Boston, the fleet remaining in the harbor for more than a month. But it was one for which she paid, since Massachusetts furnished £40,000 toward the provisioning of the fleet, a sum more than double that of New York, Pennsylvania and other sections provided.

The plan of attack was the same as the ill-starred Phipps affair, foot troops against Montreal, the transports and men-of-war against Quebec. The ships sailed. While sailing up the St. Lawrence River in a fog, eight of the vessels were wrecked with the loss of 884 men. A council of war was held which urged an abandonment of the enterprise and an immediate return to England. The expedition on its way towards Montreal was also abandoned. The whole affair was an ignominious failure. Only the peace of Utrecht saved the day for this country by giving to England without the necessity of fighting for it, the possession of Hudson Bay, of New Foundland (which the returning fleet of Walker had not even attacked) and of Acadia. The boundaries of the latter place were so indefinitely outlined as to soon furnish another occasion for strife. If there was anything of gain in the course of events it rested only in the realization that was coming to the minds of the men of New England that, bad as they were as soldiers, those of the mother country seemed little better. "Marlborough's veterans" had been even more prompt than had the Provincial troops to quite a failing enterprise. It is doubtful whether New Englanders ever regained the blind confidence in the fighting qualities of the British trained soldiery even though they were of the same origin as themselves. Boston was meanwhile learning the lesson that the constant succession of English wars (news of which was usually long in reaching the town), laid them open to sudden attack from the sea. One of the first things done by the settlers with Winthrop had been the fortifying of Castle Island, the strengthening of which, as well as other pregnable approaches, now became one of the burdens thrust upon the place. The town's records from 1725 on are full of plans and acts looking to the strengthening of the harbor defenses.

Governor Shirley's War—In 1744, England and France were again at odds in the war called abroad "The War of the Austrian Succession," but

known on this side of the sea as "King George's War," or sometimes as "Governor Shirley's War." Whatever the name it is notable principally for the taking of Louisburg. This great fortress was one of the strongest of the many which the French had extended in a long line from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. It was called the "Gibraltar of America" and had been built at a cost of \$5,000,000. Its walls were twenty to thirty feet high, forty feet thick; they were surrounded by a ditch eighty feet wide and defended by 183 cannon, besides 60 more in two outlying batteries.

To attack such a place seemed but another of the ill considered grandiose schemes that had so cluttered the record of the French and Indian wars with failures. It is not surprising that the approval given by the Massachusetts Legislature was by a majority of only a single vote. As always, there was no experienced leader to take command. Lacking which, one prominent in other activities was chosen, William Pepperell, a prosperous merchant and colonel of the York County militia. The soldiers were the customary poorly drilled, undisciplined group which had fought from time to time, having only the pride of race and colony, courage, and religious enthusiasm.

The Fall of Louisburg—The transports sailed from Boston before there was any assurance of help from the mother country, although a fleet under Sir Peter Warren did join the Provincials at Canso. On April 30, 1745, the combined forces came in sight of Louisburg. With eighteen cannon and three mortars, the invaders began the reduction of the great fortress with its 240 guns, and high massive walls. In little more than six weeks, Louisburg was in the hands of the American and English troops. How it was done, is still unexplained. Voltaire, in writing about it, ranks it as one of the greatest events of the period. Our own historian, Parkman, thought it the result of "mere audacity and hardihood backed by the rarest good luck."

Whatever the explanation of the taking of the Cape Breton "Gibraltar," much of the credit for this conspicuous act of military prowess must be given to Boston, for it was very much a "Boston undertaking." It meant a great deal to the Province as a whole, for it gave them an increasing confidence in their ability to protect themselves against any foe, particularly one more civilized and better drilled and armed than the Indian. If one cares to see the only tangible result of the victory now within our State, one has but to go to the University Library of Harvard where, carefully preserved, is the iron cross that some iconoclast in the besieging forces pried from the walls of the garrison chapel at Louisburg and brought home with him.

The provinces, flushed with success, were eager to seize the whole of

Canada. Plans were projected by which the Americans would supply the land forces and England the needed fleet. The plan failed, however, through the objections raised by the Duke of Bedford because of "the independence it might create in the provinces when they shall see within themselves so great an army, possessed of so great a country by right of conquest." The English authorities, however much they wanted to defeat the French in Europe, evidently did not think the French ownership of a part of the New World something to be deplored. Three years later, 1748, for no apparent reason, Louisburg was given back to France.

The Last Phase of the French Wars—The last phase of the French and Indian Wars was the most severe of them all, and the one which at one period of it held the greatest danger to the continuance of the English colonies in this country. The excuse for another conflict grew out of the indefiniteness of the boundaries of Acadia (Nova Scotia) which by the treaty of Utrecht had been awarded to the British. Both French and English laid claim to the north shore of the Bay of Fundy, and in protection of their claim, the French had built forts Beau-Sejour and Gaspareau. The English had also erected forts at Windsor, Minas and Halifax. In 1755, before any declaration of hostilities, the British seized the two small French fortifications and attempted to set up their rule over the whole peninsula. In this campaign, John Winslow of Boston, grandson of the Winslow who commanded the New England force in the famous "swamp fight" of Philip's War, was the leader in the foray. The most of the troops under him came from Boston. They numbered three thousand, too few by far to control a thoroughly French colony of fifteen thousand. A cruel but effective method was used in the subjection of Acadia; the whole French population was seized by a stratagem and deported to the English provinces. More than a thousand of these exiles were brought to Massachusetts, and distributed among the towns.

The opening victory in Acadia, if such a term may be applied to the event, was the only one for some time. Braddock, sent from England, made plans for a wide spread campaign. Of his own ill-fated effort and death every school boy is informed because of Washington's connection with it. One-fifth of the able-bodied men in Massachusetts, 7,500, were partly employed in Sir William Johnson's expedition against Crown Point. Governor Shirley built, during his unsuccessful campaign against Niagara, 1755, a fort at Oswego, New York, which was taken by Montcalm the next year. A year later, this same seemingly invincible leader seized Fort Henry, where a number of the Massachusetts troops were foully murdered after a promise of safety. The French extended their holdings until the valleys of the St. Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Mississippi were theirs; the English held only the land along the sea, and this

hold was extremely insecure. The winter of 1757 was a dismal season for the provinces.

Light pierced the darkness when early in 1757 William Pitt promised the Governors of the American provinces the aid of a large force to coöperate with them if they would raise as large a military force "as the number of inhabitants would allow," 20,000 being suggested as a minimum number. The Crown would furnish equipment and supplies, the provinces the troops and their pay. Massachusetts voted 7,500 men, and, during the year, a million dollars. The most complete union of all the colonies came at this time, and the part Boston and Massachusetts played in the war thereafter was only that of one among many. Her troops were at the failing attempt to take Ticonderoga, "with Bradstreet when he took Fort Frontenac, and with Prideaux when he took Niagara." Louisburg fell again, Ticonderoga was later seized, and Crown Point was taken. The French were about exhausted, Montcalm alone enabling them to keep up what was now an unequal contest. Quebec was taken in 1759 and Montreal the next year.

The Peace of Paris—The Peace of Paris, 1763, brought to a close the French and Indian Wars, that for eighty-five years had been harassing the colonies. What is more, it ended forever the French domination of a large part of America. Danger from the Indians was also ended, for in the east they had been almost annihilated. The provinces had been put to a great expense; 25,000 men had been furnished during the last few years; many had been slain and many suffered wounds. But all was well. More land had been settled than ever before, there were more people than ever in America, there was more wealth, actual and potential. The colonies, for the most part, were thoroughly English, and, as members of one family, rejoiced that now, with England the sole important nation in the New World, America would be a vital, strong part of the English Empire. American troops had gained this great territory for the mother country, and the men were justly proud of the prowess that had made this possible. The colonies were even ready to send some of their experienced soldiers to the aid of the mother country if needed. This conceit was excusable in view of the military progress the colonies had made. Whatever may have been the thought of the leaders in this country, the vast majority of its people were feeling a deeper unity with Britain, waiting only a just recognition of that oneness by the King and Parliament.

The Prelude to the Revolution—An account of the events that led to the rude awakening of the colonies is not a part of this chapter. They were merely the inevitable happenstances growing out of a failure on the part of an obstinate, narrow-minded, selfish, stupid King and ministry to understand and appreciate a lusty, proud and independent colony. Thir-



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teen children had been allowed to grow up as they willed away from the parental authority and guidance. Now, when they were approaching maturity, was not the time to treat them like children; it was no longer wise to attempt to teach them blind obedience, to tell them they could do only what they were permitted to do by authorities who cared only for what could be gotten from them. The children had tasted the joys of a freedom purchased at a great price. If ever there was a time when the Crown needed to be as "wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove" it was at the close of the French and Indian Wars. It was the irony of Fate that George III should have the shaping of the destinies of England and her colonies when the greatest delicacy of governmental action was needed. A succession of blunders by a pompous King and a servile ministry brought about the division of a kingdom.

Two lines of policy practiced by the British were the main sources of difficulty with this country. The Acts of Trade rule reserved to England the larger and better share of shipping and exchange. Second, English troops were quartered in the colonies, which were taxed for their support. This, while irritating, had been necessary while there was war, but was decidedly objectionable when the strife was at an end and the provincials felt capable of taking care of their own military affairs. Perhaps these policies might have been practiced without giving great offense if they had not been enforced with such brutal stupidity.

Repressive Measures Multiplied—Although wars had ceased, new restraints of navigation were established. More troops, rather than fewer, were sent to be cared for. Taxes were increased, and insult was added to injury by the supercilious statement that these taxes were not imposed for the revenue they brought, but to make clear that America was the subject of Britain. A Stamp Act was imposed in 1765. There was rioting in Boston and elsewhere. For a time the law courts were suspended, and shipping was brought to a standstill by the inability of the masters of vessels to get clearance papers. The act was repealed the next year; Boston celebrated with bon-fires and banquets. It was realized by the English ministry that the principle of the taxation of colonies could not be given up without putting the English government in the wrong, so a new method was chosen. Import taxes were placed on certain articles, one of which was tea. These were not large and the proceeds were to be used in paying the salaries of the provincial governors and judges, but the provincials took the stand that there must be no taxation without representation.

Lord North, in 1770, had the odious taxes removed from everything but tea; beyond this the ministry would not go. Late in November, 1773, three ship loads of tea arrived in Boston. The climax to five years

of controversy over import duties was reached on a mid-December night. Fifty men dressed as Indians, known to history as "The Mohawks," swarmed over the vessels and within three hours had unloaded 342 chests of very good tea into the harbor. Parliament retaliated by annulling all of Boston's privileges as a seaport, even communication with Dorchester and Charlestown by water was cut off. The seat of government was changed to Salem, and Marblehead became the port of entry.

Then came the Regulation Acts, providing for the appointment by the royal Governor of local officers hitherto elected; the abolishment of town meetings except under severe restrictions; the trials of officials charged with capital offenses were transferred to England or Nova Scotia; and additional troops were quartered on the towns of Massachusetts. Meanwhile Hutchinson, the last of the royal Governors, had been displaced by a military official, General Gage, in May, 1774. The principal outcome of all these acts, as far as this country was concerned, was to focus on Boston the sympathy of a rapidly uniting people, and to establish more firmly the idea that only by separation from the mother country could the interests of America be conserved.

The "Boston Massacre"—The second policy, that of quartering increasing numbers of British troops upon the Bostonians, was an added irritation and insult which led to several significant clashes at arms. Two regiments, the 14th and the 29th, had been in the town for a year and a half, when on the night of March 5, 1770, the increasing friction between the people and the soldiery culminated in the death of four citizens, and the wounding of eight more. The whole affair was the result of rowdyism, of a fist fight between soldiers and rope-makers, which had occurred a day or two before. On the fatal night a boisterous mob had been taunting and snowballing some of the Government troops. The crowd was thoroughly incensed when armed soldiers came to the aid of their comrades, who were quite capable of caring for themselves. Wiser heads, realizing the possibility of serious trouble, circulated through the crowd endeavoring to persuade them to break away and return to their homes. But it was to no avail; the excited soldiers fired—of those that were hit by the bullets, only one had taken a part in the disturbance.

This, in brief, is the story of the Boston Massacre, an event that never since has been forgotten. "The careless shooting of a dozen townsmen"—but it marked the shedding of the first blood of the Revolution. The next day, the people, with Samuel Adams at their head, demanded the removal of the troops from the town, a demand which, after argument, was acceded to by Governor Hutchinson. The two famous regiments, dubbed by Lord North when he heard of the procedure, "Sam Adams'

Regiments," went down into American history under their new title. The soldiers and their leader, Captain Preston, were brought to trial after the populace had cooled their passion. All but two of the common soldiers were acquitted, the punishment doled out to them being but the branding of a hand. Meanwhile, and possibly because of, the massacre, New England, and to a limited extent, many of the other colonies prepared for the inevitable break with England.

Preparations for Revolt—It was not until five years later that the Rubicon was crossed, and a war from which there could be no withdrawal begun. Military organization had been going on throughout Massachusetts. The colony probably had at least 15,000 in its militia by 1775. Military supplies had been gathered in quantities, one of the principal of the magazines being located at Concord, another being at Worcester. Gage, who was now the Governor of the province, determined to destroy or seize these collected arms. Discretion decided him against sending his troops to the more distant Worcester. Concord, only eighteen miles away, seemed much the easier operation to perform. The rout of the British under Lord Percy on the memorable April 19, 1775, when "the embattled farmers of Middlesex" rudely hustled the best of the red-coated soldiers out of the county and into the safety of Boston, is more an event of national history than of Boston.

Two months later the British won the costly battle of Bunker Hill. The small town was burned, a section about a mile square was occupied by the victorious British troops. But the victory was like many of the late World War, the victors could neither advance nor retreat, the price had been too great—more than a thousand had been lost by the British, including an altogether too large proportion of their officers; and what was of more moment, the siege of Boston had not been in the slightest degree relieved.

The "Siege of Boston"—The long period lasting nearly a year and known to history as "The Siege of Boston," comprises the principal part of Boston's intimate connection with the Revolution. Men from the town were scattered through all the armies that fought in the long drawn out struggle; Boston men were leaders in the political direction of the united provinces, and officers in the military organizations. But the tide of war passed by the colony that for so many years had been a thorn in the side of England, the colony that had given the occasion, and probably was the cause of the Revolution. The "Siege" came at the beginning of things when the colonials were fighting for their rights as Englishmen. It brought home to Boston before the other parts of America had been aroused to the "horrors of war," what war could mean.

There was no great bombardment of the town, even starvation was not the lot of any of its citizens, but Boston suffered none the less and was well shut off from the rest of the country. In the town were many who were sympathizers with the colonial cause, many who would have escaped to take an active part in the reduction of what had been their home, had not the Tory and English element felt safer from bombardment by keeping among them some of the friends of the besieging forces. A number did manage to leave before Gage established rules that rendered it almost impossible for anyone to leave. By June there were only 6,573 civilians in Boston and 13,500 soldiers.

Havoc Wrought in the Town—Food became scarce; only by way of the sea could provisions be brought in, and the "Yankee" sailors caught many of the supply vessels. In May, Boston had one of the great fires which seem to be a recurring part of its history. In November, the smallpox ravaged the town. Those who loved the place were heart-broken by the desecration or destruction of many of its choicest places. Churches were used for all sorts of purposes other than that for which they had been built. Two were made into barracks, two became store-houses, and one was turned into a stable. One of the houses of worship and a hundred homes were used for firewood. The Old South became a riding school of the Dragoons. The famous "Liberty Tree" was cut down, simply "because it bore the name of liberty." Sympathizers with the besieging army were hunted out and life made miserable for them by every means devised by the ingenuity of the military.

Meanwhile both England and America looked on wondering why month after month could pass without either of the belligerents making a decisive move. The forces within and without the city were about equal in numbers. If Howe, who was appointed to replace Gage after the disastrous victory of Bunker Hill, and was the commanding general and military governor of Boston, could not attack, why did he not abandon Boston? If he had the transports to do so later, he must have had them at his disposal at an earlier period.

Washington at Cambridge—On the other hand, the Continentals had fortified their positions very shortly after Bunker Hill. Washington had been commissioned as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army on June 16, 1775, and on July 3 had taken over the command of his troops under the historic elm in Cambridge. Under him were fifteen or more thousand men. Why did he not attack? Why, if neither Gage nor Howe would fight, did Washington delay to do so? Questions like these have been asked in the early stages of every war in which the United States has engaged; it was asked by our allies during the late World War when



WASHINGTON AT DORCHESTER HEIGHTS AT THE EVACUATION OF BOSTON

so much time elapsed after our declaration before a single division went into battle. The same answer can be given to all these questions; America was not ready, always she has declared for war and then had to spend all her energies in creating forces and making her preparations. It was so with Washington before Boston. This most impetuous of generals had to sit quietly while he gathered an army, taught it to fight and secure enough equipment, arms, and munitions. The years of war experienced by the provinces had left in their wake a number of men who had fought and could fight. There were many militia units which had received some drill in the art of marching. Of concerted action, of training as united and large bodies, there had been none. When Washington took over the "army" which had gathered in Cambridge, he became the leader of a disorganized body of men, the most of whom were there under short enlistments that were about to expire. There were few arms; powder was very scarce, and there was little of this commodity made in the provinces. As for cannon, not until after General Knox had dragged a few from Fort Ticonderoga on Lake George and Captain Manley had captured the English transport "Nancy" filled with guns and ammunition, was there anything that might be called artillery.

Why the Siege was Prolonged—Washington wrote of the extraordinary situation: "It is not perhaps in the power of history to furnish a case like ours—to maintain a post within musket-shot of the enemy for six months together without (powder) and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments is more than probably was ever attempted." The historian of the siege described conditions: "Officers were slowly learning their duties; discipline was growing more firm and steady, the whole army settling down into habits of military life. Every hill and projecting point from the Mystic River to Dorchester Neck had been made impregnable, stretching around Boston in a vast semi-circle of redoubt and breast-works of fifteen or twenty miles in length, until at last Knox's precious convoy of cannon and mortar arrived, and the almost priceless stores of Manley's fortunate capture transported to camp, and a moderate supply of powder gathered up—the decisive move was made."

Dorchester Heights Seized—The key to the defense of Boston was Dorchester Heights, a fact realized by both sides. For some strange reason, Howe had failed to take and fortify the position. On the night of March 2, 1776, and continuing for several nights after, the town was bombarded from East Cambridge. While Howe puzzled over the matter, on the morning of the fifth he awoke to see that Washington had braved the hazard, and was entrenching on the principal hill of what is now South Boston. The artillery bombardment had been but to cover the

preparations of the Continentals. The military works were not complete, and Howe, realizing that once his enemy became securely entrenched upon the Heights, he would be compelled to abandon Boston, and preparations were made for an assault on Washington's position.

It was the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, and the "Virginian" mingled with his men, saying to them "Remember the fifth of March; avenge your brethren." But Howe hesitated, delayed until the ebb tide left an exposed muddy shore which prevented the landing of his troops. That night Nature fought on the side of the patriots; there came a great storm which gave them time to consolidate their fortifications against the possibility of capture. A few days of uncertainty, a hurried departure of the red-coats, the Tories and their families to Halifax, and the tedious dismal siege of Boston came to its undramatic end. It was now March 17. Many a visitor to Boston on this day, seeing flags a-flying, thinks the feast of St. Patrick is being celebrated. It is, but the true Bostonian knows that the city is also celebrating the anniversary of the final departure of British troops from the peninsula.

In 1778, a French fleet entered the harbor, the officers of which were feted, and the soldiers and sailors received with rejoicing. But this was about all that the town saw of soldiery and warfare for the remaining years of the Revolution. Ships were built, outfitted and manned by Boston men. Her citizens served in Congress and in the armies until Cornwallis made his last retreat and was brought to earth at Yorktown.

The Revolution over, Boston returned to its original place among the principal towns in America and the foremost seaport on this continent. It had received a severe setback to its supremacy in the loss of so much Tory wealth and numbers. But new families came in from other parts of New England; it was many years before the town was as populous and as wealthy as before the Revolution. Massachusetts formed a State government, and Boston became the capital. Politically she was as independent as always, a condition that stood her in poor stead when once again our country was at war.

Events Leading to the War of 1812—England had become involved in difficulties with France again, or rather with Napoleon Bonaparte, and the commerce of the former government had been thrown into confusion. The United States, as the only really neutral nation, was in a position to reap the rich advantages of the situation, and New England gathered in the most of the wealth. Her ships sailed to every port; it was the Golden Era of her mercantile marine. But New England's success aroused the enmity of Great Britain, and the envy of less fortunate parts of the United States. England revived an old ruling under which was claimed the right to seize and condemn in her admiralty courts, the

vessels of other nations. Her application of this "rule of 1756" as practiced against American ships and cargoes was little better than high seas piracy. Boston suffered severely, and her leaders in governmental affairs urged the President to deal with England with a strong hand. With little consideration for the interests of New England, an Embargo Act was passed by Congress which tied the shipping of Massachusetts to its wharves. What this meant to Boston may be understood when it is realized that three-eighths of all the tonnage of the United States was owned in Massachusetts, and the great bulk of it made the port of Boston its home. Ruin stared the town in the face. Her merchants and ship-builders, her sailors and laboring classes were threatened with poverty.

Boston Sentiment Against the War—The embargo was lifted in 1807, but between this year and that of 1812 nothing was done by the Federal authorities to revive the shipping of Massachusetts. Meanwhile the Navy, such as it was, had been allowed to rot. Had Jefferson, at the beginning of the outrages committed by England, boldly declared war, no part of the country would have given a more complete and enthusiastic support to the President. But as conditions were in 1812, Massachusetts considered war worse than inadvisable, for it could only prove a finishing blow to its enfeebled commerce and prosperity. The sentiment in Boston seems to have been one of a determination to have nothing to do with the war. Secession, which the same city so condemned a half century later, was preached as a panacea for all her ills. The presence of the "Constitution" and the newly launched "Independence" in the harbor were considered a danger to the town, and Commodore Bainbridge of the Charlestown Navy Yard was asked to send them farther away from Boston. Boston sat sullenly down determined to have nothing to do with this War of 1812.

The British, however, forced the hand of Boston, for in its policy of attacking seaport towns along the Atlantic coast, it began to look as though a visit might be paid to the principal of seaports, and the town that more than any other had been the competitor of her shipping. Expecting but getting no aid from the government, Boston went to work improving her harbor defenses. The old forts were put in order, and a new one, Fort Strong, was thrown up on Noddle Island. Loammi Baldwin, the engineer of the Middlesex Canal, the first large dry-dock and other notable structures, was the architect of the fortifications. Volunteers built the forts and manned them upon their completion. Fortunately Boston was never attacked throughout the war, although her port became the refitting place for the ships of war and the privateers that decided the fortunes of conflict.

"Old Ironsides"—Since the War of 1812 was principally a naval affair, Boston played a larger part in it than most sections of the United States. Massachusetts supplied a larger share of those serving in the Navy than any other State, and it must not be forgotten that what is the most famous war vessel ever produced by the United States is the thoroughly Boston ship, the "Constitution," or as she is lovingly called, "Old Ironsides." The "Constitution" was built in Boston at Edmund Hart's shipyard—now Constitution Wharf. A Boston shipwright chose her timbers, Paul Revere supplied the copper spikes and bolts that went into her construction, Ephraim Thayer of the South End made the gun carriages, the factory that wove the duck for her sails was located on the corner of Tremont and Boylston streets, and the sails were made in the old Granary that stood on the site of the Park Street Church. Old Ironsides was expected to be a "Bad Luck" ship since it was not until the third attempt that she slipped gracefully into the water, but her career proved very much otherwise. Into her career we will not go, except to point out in the words of another that: "Into Boston Harbour, Commodore Hull sailed her after his escape from a British squadron in the summer of 1812." To Boston again she came after the fight with the "Guerriere" a few weeks later, and when she had returned again under Bainbridge, the Java had struck to her off the Brazillian coast. Still later—on June 1, 1813—the hills and housetops of Boston were crowded with people watching the Chesapeake as she sailed down the harbor and joined in that disastrous conflict with the "Shannon," of which the distant smoke and sounds were not beyond sight and hearing. Yes, Boston, ungraciously and unwillingly, saw very much of the War of 1812, and did its share in bringing it to a successful conclusion.

Boston the "Occasion of all Wars"—An orator of the last century accused Boston of being the "Occasion" of all the wars into which the United States had been drawn, a remark worthy of attention, and about as true as are all-inclusive statements. There probably would have been a Revolution without a Boston "tea party" but hardly as soon. There might have been no War of 1812, had the mercantile marine of the town been less aggressive and successful. But it is hardly fair to saddle upon the city the Civil War, even though many of the principles involved in the struggle were evolved in Boston. The "Hub" held no brief, at first, for abolition, even though it later became the center of the abolitionist movement. At the end of the Revolution, there were more than 2,000 slaves held by Boston owners. In 1781, October 25, the State Legislature put an end to slavery in Massachusetts, but that did not prevent citizens of the Commonwealth from engaging in the purchase and sale

of blacks or of sending vessels to Africa to secure and bring to the West Indies and the southern sections of America the humans which they sold.

When William Lloyd Garrison in his "Liberator" urged too vigorously the abolition of slavery in 1835, he was mobbed by a crowd made up of many from the better classes of the city. "This mob," says Henry Wilson, "came not from the purlieus of Fort Hill and Ann Street, but from the counting houses of State Street and the parlors of Beacon Street." If there was one locality more than another that had the best of reasons for not interfering with an institution of the South, it was Massachusetts, for no State was more dependent upon the negro labor of the South, or had more citizens in more intimate and vital associations with the Southern slave owner. The growth of the cotton manufacturing industry in Massachusetts, financed and controlled by Boston capitalists, brought the moneyed class into the closest relations with the slave-owning class of the cotton growing States. Southerners came in numbers to Boston and were received into the best of the homes, were welcome guests of the finest hotels, and their sons entered Harvard, making friends who could not regard slavery with any particular hatred. As said one noted merchant of that day—a man of New York—"Slavery is a great evil, a great wrong; but it was consented to by the founders of our Republic. It was provided for in the Constitution of our Union. A great portion of the property of the Southerners is invested under its sanction; the business of the North, as well as of the South, has become adjusted to it. There are millions on millions of dollars due from Southerners to the merchants and mechanics of this city alone, the payment of which would be jeopardized by any rupture between the North and South. We cannot afford to have slavery overthrown. It is not a matter of principle with us; it is a matter of business necessity." These words summed up the attitude of the average business man toward abolition. As Boston desired, in 1806, to be allowed to go on with its foreign commercial operations without the interference of an Embargo Act, so now she wanted nothing to happen that would interrupt the flow of cotton to the mills of the State, nor the good-fellowship that existed between the North and the South.

The Boston Attitude Towards Slavery—If the majority had ruled, it seems likely that Massachusetts would never have been the leading State in the opposition to any interference with Southern institutions. More by accident than otherwise, Garrison, who for a brief period had been in Baltimore, Maryland, where he was jailed for publicly protesting against the slave sales, set up his "Liberator" in Boston. He may have chosen the city because he knew, as did many another, that whatever the Bostonian believed, he still would listen to those of other faiths; the agitator

was certain of a hearing if not a following. Garrison was heard for nearly a half dozen years before the mistake was made of trying to quiet him by the force of a mob. Nothing of greater importance came out of this riot than the arraying of the adherents of abolition, and the let well enough alone parties in definite opposition to each other. It was a serious mistake on the part of the conservatives. It aroused the women, for a meeting of the Boston Female Antislavery Society, announced to be held at No. 46 Washington Street, had brought the crowd together that attacked Garrison. They prevented all but about thirty of the ladies from getting into the hall, a deed that turned hundreds of the women who had been but mildly interested in the anti-slavery movement, into fiery partisans.

The clergy, too, came to the aid of the persecuted Garrison, although in the early stages the churches were decidedly conservative, with their ministers finding little to commend in the purposes and methods of Garrison and his radical friends. And from the younger progressives of the city came many brilliant men who joined the ranks of the Abolitionists. What an array of talent it was that gave inspiration and force to the movement! Wendell Phillips, who as a boy of eighteen, sprang into fame by the fiery eloquence and unanswerable arguments of his extemporaneous reply to a speech lauding the mob that killed Owen Lovejoy, the Abolitionist. Phillips was the matchless orator of the anti-slavery forces. Theodore Parker, preacher par excellence, but even more noted as a leader of the New England band which aided so many fugitive slaves to escape, was another. Then there were Channing, Edmund Quincy, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, Dr. Bowditch, Whittier the poet, R. H. Dana, Jr., and Charles Sumner, just to name a few of the leaders of the day.

Aid Given Negro Fugitives—Abolition swung from being principally a moral question whose propagation was by eloquence, to a political affair when President Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. There were many former slaves resident in Boston. In February, 1851, Shadrach, a negro, was arrested. As none of the jails in the city would house the prisoner, he was held in the United States Court room awaiting trial. A mob of his own race rescued him and sent him off to safety in Canada. It was only a temporary respite for the fugitives, for in April of the same year, Thomas Sims (or Semmes) was imprisoned and tried. Condemned to return to his former master, he was led in chains surrounded by three hundred policemen to the ship that was to carry him to Savannah. In 1854, May 24, Anthony Burns, a recent fugitive slave, was lodged in a Boston jail, awaiting trial and probable deportation. Never since the "Tea Party" had Boston been in such a rage and turmoil as during the next few days. Such men as Phillips, Parker, Dr. Howe and Thomas Wentworth Higginson connived at the escape of Burns by

means of a directed mob. "It was one of the very best plots that ever failed" said its originator, Colonel Higginson. And of the Colonel it is written by Dana, who so fervently, but in vain, pleaded the prisoner's case, "I knew Higginson's ardor and courage, but I hardly expected a married man and a clergyman, and a man of education to lead the mob." The mob attack was a futile affair, causing the death of one man, but accomplishing nothing. But at least it illustrated the change that had come over Boston, when her ministers and leading citizens were as ready to assault the law in their hatred of slavery, as had been a former mob to attack Garrison the Abolitionist.

Burns was turned over to his master, June 2, 1854, and was placed on a revenue cutter and taken to Virginia. It was a victory for the South, but as a Southern editor wrote: "We rejoice at the recapture of Burns, but a few more such victories and the South is undone." He had in mind the armed force that was needed to see the colored slave safely aboard the craft that was to bear him south. Two companies of United States troops escorted the prisoner, "with cannon loaded with grape and all the military of Suffolk County." More than 20,000 people thronged the street down which he was taken, crying shame as the parade came in sight. The bells on the churches tolled, shops and offices were draped in black. Flags hung union side down were over the street under which the cortege had to pass. Near the State House swung a coffin bearing the words: "The Funeral of Liberty." Thus was the last slave ever captured in Massachusetts, sent from the State, bidden farewell by an aroused citizenship. When later, Sumter fell and Lincoln sent out a call for volunteers, the response of Boston was full and instant; the experiences of the preceding two decades had made her as ready to fight as she had been to talk.

Civil War and the Famous Sixth—Lincoln's first call for troops was issued on April 15, 1861. Governor Andrew, even before this, had been studying the situation and endeavoring to collect and equip the militia of the State. On the 16th, soldiers were gathering in Boston, and on the third day, the 19th, three regiments were on their way to Washington. One of these, the 6th, traveled by way of Baltimore, where it was attacked by a mob. The first blood of the Rebellion was shed on the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington and Concord, as the 6th tried to force its way through Maryland's city streets. It succeeded, and upon its arrival at Washington was greeted with relief and pleasure by the President, for it was the first regiment reasonably completely equipped to come to the aid of the Capital.

There was a surprising unanimity of opinion as well as of action in Boston when one considers how at odds many of its leaders had been.

The attack on Sumter brought such a union of men, of interests, of purpose as had never characterized the city in any previous war. The "Boston Post," a Democratic newspaper, appealed to the people to preserve "our noble Republican Government" or descend into anarchy. Edward Everett, who had just been defeated as a candidate for the vice-presidency on a ticket opposed to Lincoln, struck a keynote when he declared: "All former differences of opinion are swept away. We forget that we have been partisans; we remember only that we are Americans, and that our country is in peril." It is but fair to state, however, that the animating spirit of this loyalty and dedication to service was based on the principle of union, rather than upon abolition. Boston forgot its past differences and joined hands without reference to party or creed in the patriotic desire to preserve the United States as one; emancipation was for the time thrust into the background.

The City Prepares for War—War once declared, Boston was, as always, very practical in what it did. Faneuil Hall, as well as all the other buildings under city control capable of being turned to military use, was placed at the disposal of the Governor. The banks of Boston offered to lend the State \$3,600,000, pending legislative action. Committees were formed to look after the interests of every soldier who would enlist. Physicians pledged their aid to the families of those who should go to the front. The Boston bar voted to serve in law those of their profession who went to war and to see that liberal provision was made for their families. These were but a few of the activities of the municipality during the first week.

"Of the hospitalities of the city to the soldiers going to and from the front; of the city relief committee; of the discharged soldiers home; of the 'committee of one hundred' which raised and expended the Massachusetts Soldiers' fund; of the gifts of ice, provisions and clothing; of Mr. Evans' offer of the Evans Home as a place of deposit for contributions for the soldiers, and of the use made of it by Mrs. Otis who established there the 'Bank of Faith'; of the New England Women's Auxiliary Association, a branch of the United States Sanitary Commission with headquarters in Boston; of the Boston soldiers' fund; of all these mere mention must suffice; and to mention these leaves almost countless other patriotic acts and sacrifices unnoticed."

Boston Soldiery—Boston in all wars had unusual burdens loaded upon it because of its position as the capital and metropolis of the Commonwealth. For this reason, also, it is difficult to separate what it did as a city from what it accomplished as a center of a State. The municipality had a population of 178,000 in 1860, but as a district, including nearby

towns that were one with Boston in nearly every respect other than government, its population must have approximated half a million people. Thus it cannot be known just what, or even how many, regiments the city sent into the various fields of action. There probably was no military organization that had only residents of the place, but there were enough whose membership was so dominantly Bostonian as to be fairly credited to Boston. Such, for example, were the 1st, 2d, 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 19th, 20th, 24th, 32d, 33d, 35th, and 56th regiments of infantry; the 3d Regiment of heavy artillery; the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th regiments of cavalry; and the 1st, 2d, 3d, 6th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th batteries. Of all of these, the majority of the men and officers came from the capital city. The 54th and 55th regiments of colored infantry and the 5th Regiment of colored cavalry were the result of Boston influence. The 44th and 45th regiments were very completely Bostonians, but served only their nine months' enlistment before many of their numbers became parts of corps throughout the war.

Boston is credited with furnishing 26,175 men for Union service, probably a sixth of whom were in the navy. Massachusetts troops made an enviable reputation for themselves, and some of those mentioned as coming principally from the city were ranked at the very top of the list of the great fighters. During the early period of the conflict, when most of the men were volunteers, the troops were as "fine a body of men as the world has ever seen." It is to be regretted that the bounty system, which later was in force, brought into these regiments a set which enfeebled their organizations, lowering the morale of the whole to an often disgraceful degree. It was a condition that was true of all the regiments of the East where the pernicious bounty system held sway. One must also keep this fact in mind when examining records where the number of desertions loom large. Men enlisted, received a bounty, deserted, enlisted again and continued the process until caught. The word "bounty-jumper" still has a very definite meaning in the American vernacular.

Regimental Statistics—To those interested in the statistics of the regiments coming, for the most part, from Boston, there follows a table taken from "The Memorial History of Boston." If comparisons are made with modern military facts and figures, it is well to remember that a regiment was a very different and much smaller unit than that used in the World War; that desertion was a fact very different from that in later wars and brought about by enlistment conditions. The very high losses are the most impressive of the totals.

ORGANIZATION.	Total.	Killed in Action.	Died of Wounds, Disease, Etc.	Deserted.
First Regiment Infantry.....	1981	93	88	155
Second Regiment Infantry.....	2767	116	156	276
Ninth Regiment Infantry.....	1922	153	105	241
Eleventh Regiment Infantry.....	2423	85	147	328
Twelfth Regiment Infantry.....	1758	128	126	191
Thirteenth Regiment Infantry.....	1584	71	75	171
Nineteenth Regiment Infantry.....	2469	104	160	174
Twentieth Regiment Infantry.....	3230	192	192	229
Twenty-fourth Regiment Infantry.....	2116	63	147	112
Twenty-eighth Regiment Infantry.....	2504	161	203	228
Thirty-second Regiment Infantry.....	2969	79	198	163
Thirty-third Regiment Infantry.....	1412	69	107	79
Thirty-fifth Regiment Infantry.....	1665	91	134	40
Fifty-fourth Regiment Infantry (Black)..	1574	54	154	40
Fifty-fifth Regiment Infantry (Black)...	1295	52	132	27
Fifty-sixth Regiment Infantry.....	1319	69	134	129
Third Heavy Artillery.....	2358	1	40	383
First Battery	319	5	15	7
Second Battery	415	1	25	13
Third Battery	318	6	13	9
Sixth Battery	451	5	50	57
Tenth Battery	274	4	19	4
Eleventh Battery	199	2	11	1
Twelfth Battery	300	...	25	75
Thirteenth Battery	355	...	26	99
First Cavalry	2767	49	167	161
Second Cavalry	2841	62	147	622
Third Cavalry	2653	60	203	372
Fourth Cavalry	2018	21	123	262
Fifth Cavalry	1516	...	117	124

General Palfrey on the Troops Sent from Boston—The endeavor has been made by General Francis W. Palfrey to credit some of the most efficient of the Boston troops in relation to their rank in an article forming a part of the "Memorial History of Boston." From this, not only the foregoing table but the following summary is taken. General Palfrey was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the 20th Regiment at the time of its formation in 1861, and with which he served continuously on the Potomac and during the whole Peninsular campaign. In the battle of Antietam, he was so severely wounded as to prevent further active service with his regiment. General Palfrey was too modest to give any extended comment on the history of his own organization, although its story was as important, its valor as great, its discipline and brilliant steadiness in the time of stress as remarkable as that of any other body of soldiers. At Fredericksburg, the 20th crossed a stream in the face of a galling fire that within a few minutes had brought ninety-seven casualties. At Gettysburg, after a forced march with never a straggler, it joined the group of men that went to the aid of Pickett's division, where its losses were 102. At Briscoe Station, it took guns from A. P. Hill's corps. "On the day of disaster before Petersburg, when the enemy had

turned our left, and was rolling up our line and capturing regiment after regiment, the 20th changed front under fire, stopped the enemy's advance, and saved the troops in the line to its right. It gave Putnam, Lowell, Patten, Babo, Wesselhoeft, Ropes, Paine, and eight more officers to the list of those killed in action or died of wounds received there." The 20th, with a record of more than thirty battles, shared in the Grand Review of the Army of the Potomac.

The 2d Regiment—The 2d Regiment was raised directly by the authority of the Secretary of War, and the appointment of its officers left to the discretion of the organizers. Some of the very best families of Boston were represented among the officers of the regiment, and the rank and file of its men were drawn from the finest of the volunteers of Massachusetts. The fortunes of war kept it from long service at the front, but in covering the retreat of General Banks in 1862, the regiment covered itself with glory. Perhaps the most notable tribute paid to Northern troops by the Southerners is one to be found in Allan's "Valley Campaign" where a description is given of the brilliant, stubborn resistance of the 2d Massachusetts to Jackson's advance near Winchester. The regiment distinguished itself particularly at Cedar Mountain and at Gettysburg. Later it was sent West, and was one of the few eastern regiments that accompanied Sherman on his March to the Sea. At the very end of Sherman's campaign, just before the bugles blew the final truce, one of the regiment's captains was shot dead at the head of his handful of a company in an attack at Averysboro.

The Colored Troops—The 54th and 55th, both made up of colored troops, and Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, leader of the first colored regiment formed under State authority, all are remembered with pride by Bostonians. "The vigor and splendid gallantry of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry at the assault of Fort Wagner proved to the world that the African race would make excellent soldiers when properly trained and led. Their colonel and lieutenant-colonel were Shaw and Hallowell, who came to their positions, the one from the Second, and the other from the Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry." On a site facing the State House is a fitting memorial to Shaw and his colored troops, an alto-relief in bronze by St. Gaudens. Colonel Shaw was slain at Fort Wagner, and the bronze panel represents him heroically leading the charge that cost him his life.

The city has many Civil War memorials; every town which goes to make up Boston having one or more. On the Common is the tall Soldiers Monument dedicated September 17, 1877, which bears the following inscription furnished by the late President Eliot: "To the men of Boston,

who died for their country on land and sea in the war which kept the Union whole, destroyed Slavery, and maintained the Constitution, the grateful city has built this monument, that their example may speak to the coming generations." Charlestown has a monument, the work of the same sculptor, Martin Milmore; there is another at Dorchester, one in Forest Hills Cemetery, one in Jamaica Plain, one in Brighton Cemetery, nearly all of these are of heroic dimensions.

This review of the early military history of Boston cannot attempt to even mention all, or even the most important facts and events of the military past of the city. Many volumes have been written on this one phase of Boston's history; to their numbers others are yearly being added. If one would have an accurate and full rounded account of any one of the several wars of the past, one must seek it in the great storehouses of our libraries. In this brief chapter all that could be done was to touch lightly on the steps by which a non-military people became the leaders in the wars of the United States. Not only against the Indians, but for their mother country, Boston was first to take up arms. When in later years the question of human liberty became dominant, and a need that must be fought for, both in the Revolution and the Civil War, Boston was first to make ready, first in the field, and first to suffer the hardships of the terrific struggles. She gave of her wealth and her citizens, more, proportionately, than any other large place in America. What she did to make possible the independence of our country, how great was her share in the giving of freedom to four million slaves, has not been and probably cannot be justly estimated.





VIEW FROM COTTON OR PENBERTON HILL. 1816

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL LANDMARKS AND HISTORIC PERSONAGES.

Boston the Unique—Even the most casual visitor to the "Hub" senses that Boston is "different," that it is a city unlike others. It is often called the most English city in America, and by this is meant something more than its streets, its buildings, or its accent. Boston has a habit of minding its own business, which oftentimes makes it blind to what is going on in other places. The city occasionally pursues an uncharted course in municipal and sociological matters with an utter lack of consideration being given to the way in which other cities do these things. Mistakes are made; Boston "muddles" her affairs. But like the English are supposed to do, she muddles through and somehow manages to reach her destination by a road which some other city will later have to use. Then she has much of the cautious, even the rebellious in her attitude towards the novel and the untried; an aloofness in her consideration of National affairs and interests; a conservatism in business marked by occasional bursts of audacity, all of which are often misunderstood and held against her. There are strange contradictions in her manner of living; her citizens wander all over the earth, and yet there are few places where the "family" is so held in respect. Queer laws are upon her statute books, some of the strangest of them being still enforced. Nowhere are sports held in greater affection, yet one may not play golf on the public links of a Sunday morning, nor see a professional ball game in the afternoon. Boston is, as it was in the beginning, a religious community, even though its religion is not now that of the founders. It is filled with exponents of historically hostile faiths, and yet never did more radical ideas dwell together in better amity.

Were this chapter a sermon, it might be well to use as a text those words of Daniel Webster when he said:

The distinctive characteristic of the settlement of the English colonists in America is the introduction of the civilization of Europe into a wilderness without bringing with it the political institutions of Europe. The arts, sciences, and literature of England came over with the settlers. . . . But the monarchy did not come, nor the aristocracy, nor the church as an estate of the realm. And to this might be joined that pregnant phrase of John Fiske: "The spirit of that age was sure to manifest itself in narrow, cramping measures and in ugly acts of persecution; but it is, none the less, to the fortunate alliance of that fervid religious enthusiasm with the love of self-government that our modern freedom owes its existence."

But this section is not a sermon; it is an attempt to gather up some of the fragments of the rich early history of Boston which have to do with

the social and cultural development of the city, to point out some of the forces which have made it a place unique and charming and dominant, and more particularly to tell something about the men whose ideals and ideas and lives helped, or hindered, in the creation of those distinct attributes and that character which are labeled "Bostonian." "This town of Boston," said Emerson, "has a history. It is not an accident, not a wind-mill, or a railroad station, or a cross-roads tavern, or an army barracks grown up by time or luck to a place of wealth; but a seat of humanity, of men of principle, obeying a sentiment and marching loyally whither that should lead them; so that its annals are great historical lines, inextricably national; part of the history of political liberty. I do not speak with fondness, but the language of coldest history, when I say that Boston commands attention as the town appointed in the destiny of nations to lead the civilization of North America." It is with the idea contained in that word "civilization" that we wish to deal, or to the social aspect of the word, the attainments in culture, arts, literature, and sociology, perhaps; with the idea that lay back of the witticism, "Boston is not a city, but a state of mind."

The Personality of the City—Instances might be repeated without end of the oddities, the unique qualities of Boston. One smiles at her idiosyncracies, or criticizes her frailties—but how she is loved by those who know her best! She has a charm which defies analysis, yet one that invites it. After all Boston is Boston because of the generations who have dwelt within her, and this means not simply those of the past but also those of the present. Cities have personalities because their characteristics are the sum totals of the characters of the persons who have lived in them. In terms of affection, one uses the feminine pronoun in speaking of Boston, but the city is essentially masculine, and its history is the life story of a boy growing into manhood. The lad was conceived in religion, and the pre-natal influences left a mark which has never been obliterated. The early years were ones of such hardship as to threaten the life of the babe. The net result was but to develop a spirit of self-dependence. The mother country, after years of neglect, much to the distaste of the lad, sent royal tutors, who while they broadened his outlook and added to his education, only increased his feeling of independence of the mother who had neglected him until he was big enough to contribute to her support. Eventually the boy became so rebellious that it was felt necessary to give him a thorough spanking. Unfortunately for the mother, the attempt was made to administer punishment to thirteen lusty sons, with the result that all left the parental roof. Boston again all but lost his life; the rebellion draining the very life blood. But he turned to work, became a merchant, and as such soon became one of the leading

citizens of the United States. This was the formative period in his career, the time when his future character was determined. The highest impulses of his long life came to the fore, and most of what is admirable in Boston dates from these formative years. The cosmopolitan Mr. Boston of today is but the mature, serious, likeable person, born so long ago when religion clashed with England.

Metaphor is hardly the medium in which to paint the portrait of so dignified and ancient a gentleman as Boston. If his biography is to be written as plain, bald history, one must split the story up into periods, and Boston's history falls into divisions rather better than that of most places. Life seldom separates itself into complete parts; there is a continuity about it, however differently it may manifest itself at various times. But there are hills and valleys in every landscape, and there are high spots and low in the story of every living thing. There are landmarks all along the way in the growth of Boston, and these are always worthy of notice. There were eras in the history of Boston which were not only apogees, but which changed and determined the destiny of the city. Nearly every one of these epochs has its historic personages who were either responsible for the character of the period, or were lifted up above their fellows by it.

Landmarks of Boston History—The historian divides the history of Boston into half a dozen parts, and names them according to the phase of the history he is discussing. In this chapter we might, if we chose, consider the social history of Boston to consist of five periods: 1. The Religious, 1629-1691. 2. The Formative, 1692-1774. 3. The Revolutionary, 1775-1780. 4. The Commercial and Expansive, 1780-1865. 5. The Cosmopolitan, 1866 to the present. Having made such a set of divisions, we may straightway forget all about them, for in actual service they are of little value.

The religious period covers only the first two decades from one standpoint, and extends on past the Revolution from another. Boston was founded by a group of people controlled by a desire to set up a religious commonwealth. As long as Winthrop held the reins of government and leadership, this theocracy was an accomplished fact. His death marked the beginning of the end of the religious Utopia as projected, but the religious faith that conceived it, dominated Boston for another century, and its effects upon the character of the city are not yet spent. The endeavor by our forefathers to set up a state of which God should be the head, whose laws should be those of the Bible, was one of the most remarkable experiments in colonization the world has ever seen. Its failure was due to more than one weakness, although the greatest was that it made no provisions for expansion.

The crab is a most remarkable creature. To grow, it has to burst its shell; but having grown a bit it immediately hardens itself against any further development. The Puritan Commonwealth began to encrust itself from the beginning, but unlike the crab it was impossible for it to break this shell from within. It required the interference of a King to bring about an increased development of Boston. Royal Governors were sent to the town, and with them came new ideas, new standards of living, a new culture. Not much has been written upon the effect of the three quarters of a century spent by Boston as a province, and yet it was one of the great formative periods in its history. The provincial period was one of growth, uncertainty of frustration, much like that which troubles the youth as he is about to face the problems of manhood. It was also, like adolescence, a period of rebellious thoughts and desires. When Boston could contain itself no longer, and revolt became an accomplished fact, the town was suddenly deprived of most of its wealth and population. None of the large towns in the United States paid so great a price for its freedom from England as did Boston, and this despite the fact that war never visited her after the opening events of the Revolution. The Boston of 1776 was a desolated place of small standing in this country commercially or intellectually.

The Formative Period—Boston had, however, been scattering seed throughout the States whose fruition she was now to reap. Once the war was over, there came to the port folk of like blood from neighboring sections. The town began to live again, and more vigorously than ever. Commerce mated with religion, and a progeny was produced which accomplished wonders. The population doubled and quadrupled decade after decade. There were ups and downs, but this tide of prosperity and growth extended well beyond the Civil War. Many of the civilities of life had their inception in the eras preceding the Revolution, but the real development of them had to wait until more than a half of the whole history of Boston could be written in the past tense. The arts, sciences, literature, and culture of Boston may have been born relatively early, but as vital things holding a genuine sway over the affairs and destiny of Boston, it is to the last century and a half that we must look for this growth.

The last quarter of the great century in which Boston has been a city has wrought remarkable changes in Boston. Many of these have been but the completion of activities begun years before. Perhaps it is the quiet assured maturity of the place which makes the difference. Physical transformations are still going on, but there is no need for the removal of great hills or the filling of swamps. Like all large cities, land limits have been reached; only by building in the air or digging under the ground

can room for more people and business be made. The growth in population is principally that of the regions surrounding Boston proper, the Greater Boston of tomorrow. The city is busy patching the old outgrown garments of yesterday.

The Maturity of the Metropolis—Mentally, Boston has the vigor of youth without its crassness. There is no more serious-minded city in the United States than Boston, yet there is nothing new under the sun in which it is not interested, or to which it will not give a hearing. The World War not only broadened the outlook, but showed how rapidly the Bostonian could adapt himself to new activities and, as formerly, new and better methods of doing things were discovered and taught to other cities. As an example, the Committee on Public Safety, established here before there had been a break with Germany, proved to be the model after which the war work of the larger places in this country patterned their activities. The spirit of intelligent receptivity and of devoted promotion of movements that are worth while is one of the distinctive traits of the Boston of today. It may be due to the cosmopolitan character of its inhabitants, but would seem to be rather the inheritance from the past. As a mature city, Boston is doing better now what it has always done well in religion, ethics, sociology, civics, history, letters, art, science, learning, education, and all the useful crafts.

We are wandering off the track upon which this chapter is supposed to run, and may do so again. It is no longer necessary to point out that Boston holds a distinctive place among the cities of America. Let another eulogist sing her praises! Meanwhile, without being bound by hard and fast divisions, it may be interesting to discuss the ways and means by which Boston reached its heights; point out some of the landmarks along the way, and tell a bit of the historic personages who have given distinction to its records.

Boston's First Benefactor—It is quite natural, when some come to make a choice among the great names of the Puritan forefathers who played prominent parts in the giving of character to the early Boston, character which still persists in large measure or small, to recall the notable ministers of that day, John Cotton, the Mathers and others as the more influential. Or those of another turn of mind will choose a succession of Governors, Winthrop, Dudley, Vane, Endicott, or, perhaps those whose names are signed to the Cambridge Compact, a very remarkable group. It would seem, however, that the beginning should be with that first settler and one of the greatest benefactors of Boston, William Blackstone, spell his name as you will. One of the most beautiful and helpful possessions of Boston are the parks, and, if the opinion of a Mis-

Mississippi River gambler has any weight, the "most beautiful spot on God's earth is Boston Common." Every generation that has lived in the city has been familiar with this bit of the country kept green in the center of the crowded metropolis. Who can measure the influence it has had in producing that "state of mind called Boston"? It so worked its way into the affections of the recluse, George F. Parkman, that he left his millions to care forever for this Common and the other Boston parks of his day. It was the recluse, Blackstone, who gave this playground and park so dear to Bostonians, and the site of the city for that matter—which a Supreme Court has decided belongs not to the city or State but to the people. This forty acre Common and its neighboring Public Gardens have not only been the blessed heritage of generations, but the Common is sometimes thought to be the father of the parks of our country, the inspiration of those lovely healthful open spaces which are now so definite a part of all city planning and development.

There is little known about Blackstone. He preceded Winthrop and the founders of Boston by several years in locating on the peninsula. He was evidently one of those who came to Massachusetts Bay with Robert Gorges when the latter was trying unsuccessfully to make something out of the royal grant he had inherited on this side of the globe. Blackstone probably came to Shawmut, as the peninsula was known to the Indians, in 1625. He was a quiet bookish man who, becoming wearied with conditions, religious and other, in England, had crept off by himself and built his home on the slopes of the present Beacon Hill, not far from Beacon and Spruce streets. Here for about five years he cultivated a bit of the soil, traded with the Indians, and evidently wrote a great deal, since it is thought that some of the "ten paper books" which were unfortunately destroyed by the aborigines when they burned Blackstone's hut shortly after his demise, must have been written while at Shawmut. He planted apple trees, explored his domain from the back of a bull, living a seemingly contented though solitary life. Familiar with the course of events in the settlements at Plymouth, Salem, Charlestown and other places, he knew of the unfortunate conditions ruling in Charlestown opposite his home. A side light on his character may be gained by the picture of the recluse making himself known to Governor Winthrop and informing him of the excellent spring on the peninsula and giving an invitation to come and locate about it. He wearied of the "lord brethren" as he had of the "lord bishops" and four years later sold out all his land at Shawmut, reserving only six acres, removing to an estate in the present village of Lonsdale, Rhode Island, in 1634, becoming the first white settler of that state. That he returned often to Boston may be inferred from the fact that he later married the widow of one John Stephenson, a resident of the town. He died in Cumberland, Rhode Island, May 26, 1675,

when "four score years" old, if Roger Williams was right. For his invitation to Winthrop to come over and settle what is now Boston we know Blackstone best, but for his preservation of the Common to the everlasting benefit of the hundreds of thousands who have enjoyed it for nearly three hundred years, the gratitude and praise must ever be given to William Blackstone.

The Signers of the "Cambridge Compact"—Since Boston was founded by a set of men who left a small amount of civilization to come to a vast amount of wilderness, one finds among these pioneers many of remarkable character and attainments. The sentiment of the old writer about expresses it when he said: "The Lord sifted the kingdoms of Europe to obtain good seed wherewith to plant the sterile fields of New England." What a set of stalwarts it was who, after having bought up and been granted the rights to form a colony in Massachusetts Bay, gathered at Cambridge, England, perhaps within the very walls of the University, and determined that the "whole government" should be given over and remain with those who "shall inhabit the said Plantation." They knew what they wanted and had the courage to get it. What wonder that they founded and maintained for more than a half century, an Utopian scheme of theocratical government doomed to failure from its inception, and while doing it, built up the most important town among the English colonies. What is of more import, these leaders, and those who came with them, created a new strain in the English race which, despite the erosion of the years, is still dominant even though in the minority, and gave to this new strain characteristics which are still recognized, and respected, as Bostonian or New England.

The signatures of the leaders appended to the Cambridge Compact are: Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, William Vassall, Nicholas West, Isaac Johnson, John Humfrey, Thomas Sharpe, Increase Nowell, John Winthrop, William Pinchon, Kellam Browne and William Colbron. Nearly all in one form of spelling or another are familiar names wherever New England blood is found. Sir Richard Saltonstall was a descendant of a former Lord Mayor of London, and came from a family which took an important part in the affairs of England. Thomas Dudley, deputy-Governor and later Governor of the colony, was also of distinguished ancestry. William Vassall, a wealthy man and trader, was one of the broader-minded of the group and later tried to have the civil franchise extended to others than the "elect." Isaac Johnson, who was accompanied by his wife, the Lady Arabella, was a man of very great place and wealth; unfortunately both Johnson and his wife died shortly after the arrival on this side of the ocean. John Humfrey was also the son-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln, having married a sister of Lady Arabella. "In-

crease Nowell was related to the dean of St. Paul's in the reign of Elizabeth; William Pynchon possessed unusual learning and piety; and Thomas Sharpe, Nicholas West, Kellam Browne and William Colbron were all English gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortune and of university breeding." On the same vessel which brought Winthrop was George Phillips, the University trained minister; Simon Coddington, later Governor of Rhode Island; and Simon Bradstreet, who outlived them all and became known as "The Nestor of New England." A wonderful group of men were these who leaving what was best in Europe, deliberately left all to set up a commonwealth in a distant, rugged, almost unknown land.

John Winthrop—The leader of them all, by right of fitness and by choice, was John Winthrop. Because of what he was and did during the first two decades after the establishment of Boston, he and his period will be singled out and something told about them. If Boston may be said to have been "founded in religion," Winthrop must be acknowledged as its inspiration and guide, for none of the newcomers surpassed him in true religiousness and zeal. A lawyer in England, educated—he was admitted to Trinity College in 1602—wealthy, Lord of the Manor of Groton, a bright future before him, nevertheless he considered the abandonment of his profession to become a minister. Possibly ancestry accounts for his turn of character, for both Adam Winthrop, his father, and Anne Winthrop, his mother, were folk of deep personal piety. John Winthrop seems not only to have thought religiously but to have lived according to his thoughts, although he never considered himself as having done so. From his mother he seems to have inherited an affectionateness, a tender-heartedness quite unusual for those grim days; and, like his father, John Winthrop was introspective, self-controlled, and determined in what he felt was true and right.

When but twenty-five he mapped out for himself a course of self-denial; and a year later, when by the death of his second wife's father, he had inherited wealth and feared its temptations, he drew up twelve resolutions which, in view of his later life, meant far more than such pledges usually mean, for he seems always to have had them in mind, and patterned his actions according to these pre-determinations. They are too long for quotation but their character may be judged from the first three: 1. I doe resolve to give myselfe, my life, my witt, my healthe, my wealth to the service of my God & Savior, . . . 2. I will live where he appoints me. 3. I will faithfully endeavour to discharge that callinge wch he shall appoint me unto." The others were of like kind covering his stewardship of the wealth that had come to him, his personal and religious life, the setting of a proper example in education, private and public

worship, fleeing "Idleness, & much worldly business." And the last, enlightening when one realizes how remarkable was his wife Margaret who later joined him in Boston, "12. I will often praye & conferre privately with my wife."

It was this wife to whom Winthrop would write as he was about to leave her behind for a year while he went on his precarious mission to a strange land: "If now the Lord be thy God, thou must show it by trusting in him, and resigning thyself quietly to his good pleasure. If now Christ be now thy Husband, thou must know what sure and sweet intercourse is between him and thy soul, when it shall be no hard thing for thee to part with an earthly, mortal, infirm husband for His sake." Contrast this with a phrase in another letter of that same year, "Thou must be my valentine"; and with that series of love letters written when the expedition was delayed by bad weather at Cowes and the Isle of Wight.

Stern Puritan and lover, thorough business man and devoted philanthropist, educated, wealthy, one of the gentry but ready to give up all the ease of such a position to seek religious liberty where all the benefits of civilization were lacking, Winthrop was not only the mouthpiece of the Puritans, but an exemplar of what was best and strongest in their purposes and faith. Few might have been chosen to lead the *hegira* who was more representative of the Puritans, or better fitted to mould and control the new Commonwealth which they were to establish by the waters of Massachusetts Bay. Between 1630 and his death in 1649, Winthrop was twelve times chosen Governor, but it must not be thought that this was an arbitrary, autocratic office, a sort of dictatorship. What rule he exerted consisted rather of a master spirit among intimate friends all animated by a devotion to a like purpose. There are records of differences and debates; Winthrop was ousted from office at times although always returned. If he ruled the colony it was by right of character rather than by official powers.

Education in the New Settlement—Of the many notable events during his reign in Boston, few of the larger need retelling. Those of local interest both then and now cannot be too often mentioned; lest we forget how much we owe to Boston's "first citizen." Winthrop's resolutions when twenty-five, contain in the seventh, "I will have a special care for the good education of my children." When it is realized that from 1630 to 1647 it is estimated that nearly one hundred university men came to the Massachusetts Colony, and that within the first nine years there were twenty-five or more of these located within five miles of Boston, it is easy to understand why a college was founded at Newtowne (Cambridge) before the pioneers had provided properly for their own habitations. Harvard dates from 1636, and was founded primarily for the training of

ministers to the Indians and the whites. Harvard cannot, geographically, be called one of Boston's institutions, but it assuredly was, at that day, not only Bostonian in spirit and deed, but a very real factor in the creation of the "Boston as a state of mind."

Education as related to the child, although the collegians were hardly more than that, was a matter of home training instead of a public affair as at present. The beginnings of a free school system date as far back as 1633 when Philemon Pormont is written of as "schoolmaster for the teaching and nurturing of children with us." There is also a record of three years later of subscriptions "towards the maintenance of a free school-master." The Boston Latin School is the direct descendant of the school thus provided for.

Quite as interesting are the provisions made in 1633 which preserved to posterity the Common. In that year, fifty of Blackstone's acres were set aside for the common use of the townsfolk, and in 1640 it was voted that "there be no land granted either for house plot or garden to any person" out of the space which is now the most important of the city's parks. Incidentally, it was a very profitable investment which Winthrop and his followers made when they purchased from Blackstone the land on which Boston was built, for £30 or about \$150.

Early Literature—It would be pleasing to write of the intellectual vigor shown by our forefathers as reflected in the literature, art and culture of their day. But culture was synonymous with weakness, art, had there been any, would have been frowned down as akin to idolatry, and of books there were but few and these related to religion mainly. A printing press had been left with a Reverend Mr. Glover in 1638. He died on the journey over, and the press was set up in Cambridge by Stephen Daye, although owned by Glover's widow. Dunster, the first president of Harvard, married the lady in question, and the press was controlled by the college. It was not until Boston was forty-four years old that a printing press was set up in the town by John Foster, a Dorchester boy and a graduate of Harvard. Increase Mather seems to have provided the most of the copy for this press during Foster's short life—he died in 1681.

It would be a vast stretching of the term to call what was turned out by the press of the Puritan state, literature. It was printed matter, to be sure, and served a purpose in a settlement where men were too busy gaining a livelihood, and maintaining a form of religious government which could hardly stand the pressure of education. Books were not the prized possession of the average citizen, as was true when the Puritan theocracy began to wane in power. Character was considered of more import than letters. Books could be imported, but not as a rule, since

they were apt to reflect the religious life and church which the pioneers had fled to avoid. John Harvard, it is true, left as the foundation of the Harvard Library, 320 volumes. Winthrop contributed forty books to this same collection. What they were like may be judged from the message Edward Everett sent his friend, the author of the "Life of John Winthrop," when Everett gave him a list of the books as found in the archives of the college. He congratulated the author that the honored magistrate had not transmitted the books to his descendant.

Justin Winsor sums up the situation in his history:

According to the best information to be obtained, it appears that during the fifty years which passed from the setting up of the first press in New England to the close of the Colonial Period, there was issued in Boston and in Cambridge something over three hundred separate publications. Of these nearly two-thirds were expositions of religious belief, or writings in defence of dogmas, or aids to worship,—and all in the English tongue. If we add a score or more of tracts, or books of similar import, but printed in the Indian language, we materially strengthen the proportion of theology and religion. It cannot be unnoticed that of the remainder much the larger part was a growth of the same soil. Thus the fifty-two almanacs, the thirty and more publications of laws and official documents, and the expositions of college activity, all indicated how much dogma and exhortation ruled the day. During these same years there were perhaps a score of issues that may be classed as history, or materials for the history, of the Colony; and these were not without something of the same flavor. Of all this rather surprising fecundity for an infant settlement, there is perhaps not a single native production that can be held to be a memorable addition to the world's store of literature; and of such as were borrowed, an edition of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," printed in 1681, is the only one of those books usually accounted famous. The censors suppressed another when they denied their imprimatur, in 1667, to a reprint of Thomas à Kempis's "Imitation of Christ."

Mr. Winsor later gave as his opinion that the only literature of the Colonial Period to "be contemplated with much satisfaction, is that which chronicles the history of its people and tells the story of the 'Empire in their brains' as Lowell phrases it." The "Journal" of Winthrop began on his embarkation and continued to his death, "the work of a grave, self-respecting gentleman, always moderate in expression, some times elevated, and not wholly free from incredible things vouched for by divers Godly persons," affords "as noble a record of the beginnings of a people as any State can boast." The early fathers were as highly educated as any of that day, but their attention was centered on the creation of an empire, of a new state unlike any that existed, and were not interested in telling much about anything that concerned themselves, their feelings or their thoughts, except as they had to do with the commonwealth. The Boston Puritans seem strangely inarticulate on most subjects except their religious state, but it is always to be recalled that they left their imprint on a people, that they moulded a country, determined

the character of a town, however little they affected education, letters and what we call culture.

Primitive Boston—It may not be amiss to turn aside and try to get a picture of the primitive conditions under which the Puritans founded Boston; to recall some of the privations of the first years, and the limited plenty of later ones. The Boston peninsula, or "almost island" as it is better described, was an attractive place for the bachelor Blackstone to live, but had its disadvantages as the site of a town. For one thing, houses had to be built from materials found on or near the place where they were located. The plentitude of timber was lacking on Shawmut, whether removed by the Indians, or naturally. The logs for the huts had to be brought over the river or bays, although there was mud enough and moss to chink the cracks. Stones for the great fireplace were plentiful, but the fuel was somewhat lacking. Imagine the amounts required to heat the huts and cook the food of the inmates. Glass had to be imported, but was not in any quantity for many years; small openings with heavy wooden shutters, both on the inside and the out, sufficed for light, ventilation and safety. Furnishings were, for the most part, hand wrought; he who could fashion a chair or a table, a wooden bowl or wooden spoon, was an important man. One citizen hollowed out a log for a bath tub, but the wooden bowl was the dependence for the bath, as well as for a multitude of other uses. Even in the mother country, many of the common necessities of later years had not come into use. The fork was just becoming known, but was shaped like a large needle, the advantage of tines being realized later. The fingers were still serving as forks, and the meat was cut by the clasp-knives of the men before being brought to the table. Bread was sliced and buttered, when butter was to be had, before being placed before the diners. Many of the foods now plentiful were unknown. The tea which the Boston Mohawks threw overboard in 1773, was one of the luxuries of life; tea, coffee and chocolate being practically unused until 1750.

Indian corn, or maize, was the first dependence of the colonists, but seeds were among the first things brought to this country, they being one of the smaller things which could be tucked away in a vessel already overloaded with passengers and the food necessary to their long journey over the ocean. The pioneers knew little how to farm in the new country with its different soil and climate. Hence many failures came to the plantings of their own seeds, and even to the sowings of maize, possibly because, as insists one writer, "The Puritans depended too much on God to grow their fruits, and paid too little attention to what the Indians told them." There were many berries, beans, pumpkins, roots and other articles of food already growing along the bay, game and fish were plenti-

ful in the neighboring regions. Roger Williams wrote of his people, but it may well be applied to all:

Coarse bread and water is most their fare,
Sometimes God gives them fish or flesh,
Yet they are content without;
And what comes in, they part to friends
And strangers round about.

Ships came in increasing numbers and brought some of the necessities of life including tools for agriculture—it is strange to think of Boston as a farming community, but such it was—fishing tackle of many sorts, and seeds and scions. There is a pear tree in Danvers which is as old as Boston, and was transplanted from it, the scion for which was imported from England. Winthrop brought over 240 cows and 60 horses, many of which failed to survive for long. But the ships were small and space lacking, not even a sufficient variety of food was carried to prevent scurvy, and many of the first comers died the first few months, not because of the hardships in the colony, but the conditions under which they had traveled.

The Primacy of Boston—We often get large ideas of the early colony, forgetting that there were only about 300 in the Endicott settlements prior to Winthrop's arrival, and about a like number over the bay at Plymouth, although it was nine years old. Winthrop brought only between 700 and 800, with probably 200 following closely. Figure it as one will, there were only about 2,000 people around the bay when Boston was started, and these were scattered, even then, over a wide territory, for the pioneers were pioneers in truth and quickly left the safety and fellowship of the port in which they had landed and carved in the "Wilder-ness" homes for themselves, sometimes alone, but usually in groups. Two thousand folk in all eastern New England meant isolation and hardship for many.

Conditions in Boston changed more quickly than in any other of the settlements because it became, almost from the first, the principal town and the entry port to the colony. Ships followed each other in quick succession and within two decades there were ten times the number of inhabitants of the Bay country as had been there when Winthrop came. Boston as the entry port received the most of these, although comparatively few stayed. The town benefited greatly by the importations which arrived in the later vessels, either as possessions of the immigrants or in exchange for the salt fish, furs and timber which made up the first exports of the town. Boston early became the wealthy capital of the Commonwealth, the seat of the principal men, the commercial center, within the short decades of Winthrop's life in it.

The Famine of the First Year—Dudley, the deputy-governor, writing to the Countess of Lincoln, in 1631, said of the Salem settlement: "We found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before and many of those alive weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight." No wonder Dudley also wrote: "Salem, where we landed, pleased us not."

The place in which they were pleased treated the Winthrop group rather sadly, the succeeding winter taking toll of them to the extent of two hundred. The tale is told, of the Governor's wife having put the last loaves of bread for which there was grain into the oven when the "Lion" appeared off Nantucket with supplies for the colony. Richard Clapp reported that at this time it was not an unusual thing to drink only water and eat hominy without butter or milk as the principal meal, and he added that meat was almost unknown. An eye-witness, Edward Johnson, wrote that "the women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussel and clam banks, where they daily gathered their family's food. Quoth one, 'My husband hath traveled as far as Plymouth (which is near forty miles) and hath with great toil brought home a little corn with him, and before that is spent the Lord will surely provide.' Quoth another, 'Our last peck of meal is now in the oven at home baking, and many of my neighbors have spent all, and we owe one loaf of the little we have.' Then spake another, 'My husband hath ventured amongst the Indians again for corn and got none. Also our governor has distributed his plentifully. A day or two more will put an end to this store and all the rest.'"

The question of enough to eat seldom troubled Boston after the first year. The famine described was ended by the arrival of the good ship "Lion" which Winthrop had sent back for supplies the previous summer. The cargo which probably saved the town, cost but £200, but it was sufficient. Without it the settlement might not have starved, but it is doubtful whether the survivors would have had the courage to remain in so hard a land.

The "Comforts" of Life—The emigrating Puritans came well clothed, if the allowances insisted on by the company were brought. The articles of dress allowed to each man makes quite a list: "Four pairs of shoes, three pairs of stockings, a pair of Norwich garters, four shirts, a suit of doublet and hose of leather, lined with oilskin leather, a suit of Hampshire kerseys, four bands and three plain falling bands, a waistcoat of green cotton bound with red tape, a leathern girdle, a Monmouth cap, a black hat lined in the brow with leather, five red knit caps, two dozen hooks and eyes, and small hooks and eyes for mandilions, two pairs of gloves and

handkerchiefs." William Wood, in his "New England's Prospect" advised the bringing over of "a goode store of aparrell," his list being altogether too formidable to be quoted. Later ships brought food, furnishings for the house and instruments needed in the industries. It was not so many years before incoming vessels were loaded with supplies rather than with people.

Many, perhaps the most of the first comers were well off financially and could afford to import not only the necessities of life but some of its luxuries. Governor Winthrop frowned upon show and waste, practicing, even in his official position, a severe economy. But this did not prevent others from outfitting themselves and their homes with everything they could import. Servants were brought from the old country, and when the fear of the Indian passed, the aborigine was impressed into service. There is reason to believe that our ancestors were somewhat inclined to measure the social position by the number of servants kept, the furniture and furnishings which adorned their houses and the clothes they wore. The well to do must have as many canopy beds as there was space to place. Where the poor used pine knots for lights, the better off must have their candles set in all manner of metal candle-sticks. Winthrop had "two fatts of goods" sent him in 1632. While we do not know what they contained, it is fair to judge from some of his letters to Margaret his wife, before she joined him, that some of the things were the large varieties of luxurious (?) household articles he enumerated. E. Howes, in 1633, sent the Governor a case containing "an Irish skeyne, or knife, two or three delicate tools, and a fork."

Puritan Luxuries—Food, as has been indicated, became plentiful after the first season, and the tables of the Bostonians were heavy with good things to eat. Many of these came from abroad, but the gardens in and near the town produced quite a variety of edibles. Wood, writing in 1664, remarks, "and whatsoever grows well in England grows as well there, many things being better and larger." There were many native fruits, berries and vegetables which added greatly to the variety. With the woods full of game, and the rivers and bay alive with fish, these added to the cattle, pigs and poultry brought over thrust the question of starvation forever in the back-ground. Drinking was freely indulged in, although the Governor frowned upon the consumption of strong liquors. Tobacco was under the displeasure of the magistrates, but nevertheless was widely used, even by the women. We read much of the harshness of the Puritan rule, and there can be no denial of its severity; but many of the laws which were so strict, were the products of later years, of the period when Puritanism was fighting to retain the control of the colony it had founded for its own particular use. The early years were years of

reaction from the repression of England; the tendency in Boston was to expand and be comfortable. Later, when immigration almost ceased, when more left the colony than came into it, and when those who did enter the settlements were not of Puritan faith, then came the changes in polity and practice which is now labeled Puritan.

There are many other aspects to the picture of the natal days of Boston. The company which founded it was a business, as well as a religious concern, and did many things to foster industries, and provide the wealth needed for the continuance of the colony. Carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers, thatchers, shoemakers, were brought over in the first ships, and from the first their tariff of prices established, although these restrictions were removed almost at once. In the rules established from 1630 to 1640, there is mention of nearly every sort of skilled worker known at that day. A corn-mill, wind driven, was moved to Beacon Hill in 1632; saw mills were erected in the neighboring regions. The pioneers tried to spin and make their own textiles. When in 1640, "Foreign commodities grew scarce" wrote Governor Winthrop, and their own "of no price," he secured seed for growing hemp and flax, urged the community sowing of it, and offered a bounty of "three pence on each shilling's worth of linen, woolen and cotton cloth." Later it was ordered by the General Court that all persons not otherwise employed, particularly women, boys and girls, should spin for thirty weeks each year at least three pounds of linen, cotton and wool.

The Rise of Industries—A shoemaker and a tanner arrived with the first two ships at Plymouth. Thomas Beard, who came in 1628, brought a supply of English hides and leather. The pious author of "New England's First Fruits," reports, "And great and small cattel being now frequently killed for food; their skins will afford leather for boots and shoes and other uses." Copp's Hill in Boston takes its name from a shoemaker. "The bootmakers of Boston in 1646 complained to the General Court of 'much bad work produced by their craft' and petitioned for permission to join themselves in one large company so that 'all boots might alike be made well.'" Rather modern this; perhaps this attitude of the Boston shoemakers hints of the supremacy that was to be New England in many lines of manufacture—pride in good work and the desire to unite for the production of better work.

Ship-building soon proved to be one of the most important industries of Puritan Boston. Winthrop had the "Blessing of the Bay" a year after his arrival. The little vessel made its first trip to Long Island. Many other boats were constructed during Winthrop's time. In 1640 there is a record of "Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Tinge and Captaine Gibbones are appoynted to view the land adjoining Mr. Bworne's howse for a place



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for the building the shipp." The Bourne craft was 160 tons burden, the largest built in Boston up to that time. Winthrop said: "The work was hard to accomplish for want of money, 'c., but our shipwrights were content to take such pay as the country could make." Rope making went in the train of ship-building. John Harrison seems to have acquired a monopoly of this business that lasted until 1663.

The principal industries in Boston, then, were agriculture, commerce and manufacturing. The townsfolk were proving amply able not only to take care of themselves, but were exporting much. The people had enough, and more, to wear and to eat. In many other lines they were lacking. Books, as we have seen, were neither plentiful, nor does their partial absence seem to matter. There were numerous ministers in the town, but few of other professions, partially, no doubt, because the educated man practiced somewhat of all professions. We know of one lawyer, probably the only one, in Winthrop's Boston. Thomas Lechford came to the town in 1637. For going to a jury and pleading with them out of court he was "debarred from pleading any man's cause thereafter unless his own, and admonished not to presume to meddle beyond what he shall be called to by the Court." He tried by many ways to make a living, and when he found this impossible departed in 1640. Thus passed the only Boston lawyer of early days.

The First Professional Men—The Company sent over a barber-surgeon, Robert Morley, under contract to serve the colony for three years. With him came Lambert Wilson, a "chirurgion" who evidently was intended to practice mainly on the Indians. He was also an instructor. The ministers often practiced the simple medicine of the day, the Governor himself being not unskilled in this direction.

The public interest, the learning, the culture, and most assuredly the power of the colonial Boston rested in its clergy. Only the magistrates compared with them, and often the minister was both clergyman and magistrate. In social position, the minister and magistrate were equal, both, and only these, received the title Mr., and their wives Mrs. Those lower down on the scale were "Goodman" and "Goodwife" until one reached the servant who was simply called by name. It is an odd fact that marriages were not performed by the clergy, nor did they conduct funeral services. Lechford says: "At burials nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made; but all the neighborhood, or a goodly company of them, come together by the tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to the grave and there stand by while he is buried." Even when Winthrop died, all that is told of his funeral is: "His body was, with great solemnity and honor buried at Boston, in New England, the third of April, 1649."

It may have been that the minister had too many other important duties to be troubled with marriages and funerals; what is probably the truth is, marriage was considered a civil contract, and the custom of religious funeral services had not yet risen. In most of the Colonial life and affairs, the church came first, and the minister was the prime minister of the church. The first records of the Massachusetts Bay Company concern the building of houses for the minister, Mr. Wilson, the first of Boston's and Mr. Phillips, and the furnishing of them with supplies. That most remarkable governmental contribution of New England, the town was based on a church and grew up about it. Towns were organized to care for a church, and the town's business was conducted in the meeting-houses for many years. And conversely, towns gathered the money and paid it to the minister, some of them as late as two centuries after the founding of Boston. The first church of Boston was organized in Charlestown before the settlers had moved to Shawmut, and a meeting-house was erected before all the townsfolk had been housed safely.

Religion the Foundation of Boston—One can never get away from the religious *motif* in a study of early Colonial times. A religiously oppressed people left their country to worship God as *they* pleased. In doing it they often over-rode the desires of other people, but it was not freedom for other people that they sought. Criticize the Puritans as we will, condemn them as much as we like for their persecution of others, they had their own ideas and were not bothering to help others set up theirs. The early legislation is full of acts looking toward a conformity, by those who cared to live in the colony, to the Puritan church. It was but a short while, little more than a year, before it was "ordered and agreed that, for time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Mary Caroline Crawford, writing of this, says: "To them such an ordinance seemed the one and only way of forming a Christian republic towards which their hearts yearned, a community in which the laws of Moses should constitute the rules of civil life and in which the godly clergy should be the interpreters of those rules." She goes on further to state, "the weakness of the system lay in the fact that the clergy were only men. And being men, of like passion with ourselves, brew, by the very deference they fed upon, into creatures insatiate for power."

A Puritan Sabbath—Since the church was so essentially a part of the State, the source of citizenship, attendance upon its services was the prime duty of all. The Lord's Day was guarded by the most stringent regulations. It would seem that the only lawful place for anyone to be on the Sabbath was in the meeting-house, and certain it is that the Lord's

Day services were well attended come what might. What these services were like is well described by Horace E. Scudder in the "Memorial History of Boston." He wrote:

At first there was no bell to call the people together, but a drum was beaten. It is probable that the first use of a bell was at the hands of the bellman going about the town as the hour for worship drew near. The families were divided, as one sometimes now sees them in New England country villages,—the men on one side, the women and girls on the other, and the boys, who made a third class, by themselves, with the tithing-man to supervise them. The ruling elders had a seat immediately below the pulpit, facing the congregation. They were raised apparently upon a platform; and in front of them, upon a lower plane, yet still often above the people, sat the deacons in similar position. The dignity and social rank of the families was indicated in the places severally assigned to them. The first service was at about nine o'clock in the morning. The pastor began with extemporaneous prayer, lasting about a quarter of an hour. After prayer, either the pastor or a teaching elder read a chapter in the Bible and expounded it. A Psalm was then sung, lined out by one of the ruling elders. The Psalm were something of a stumbling-block to the people. The Psalter, as used in the English church, was adapted to chanting, and moreover the associations with it were of prelacy. The Puritans, by the same instinct which led them to reprehend the reading of the Bible without comment as savoring of idolatry and the surrender of reason, wished to use the Psalms in a metrical version; and in the early years of Massachusetts Bay used either that of Sternhold and Hopkins, or that made by Ainsworth, of Amsterdam. The "Bay Psalm Book" superseded these in Boston in 1640. For a long time a very small number of tunes—of which York, Hackney, Windsor, St. Mary's, and Martyrs were the chief—were in use by congregations. Instrumental music was proscribed. There is little reference to the singing in churches in the early records, and the darkness is made more dense by this unexplained passage in the records of the General Court, under date of June 1, 1641: "Mr. Edward Tomlins, retracting his opinions against singing in the churches, was discharged." There is nothing to enlighten us as to the ground of Mr. Tomlins' objections; he may have murmured against the quality of the music, as people do today who are not arrested; or he may have had painful doubts as to the propriety of singing at all.

After the singing came the sermon, which was the *pièce de resistance*. When there was an affluence of ministry, one expounded the Word while another preached. The sermon was rarely written out in those days; it was measured, not by the number of pages upon which it was written, but by the hour-glass which stood at the preacher's side. The minimum or regulation length seems to have been an hour, but Johnson speaks of a listener to Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, seeing the glass turned up twice; and on a special occasion,—the planting of a church at Woburn,—he relates that the Rev. Mr. Syms continued in preaching and prayer about the space of four or five hours. Following the sermon was a prayer by the teaching elder and the blessing. Sometimes another Psalm also was sung after the sermon. A second service, substantially the same in character, was at two o'clock in the afternoon.

What Boston was to Winthrop—It is difficult to catch the flavor of the Winthrop period despite all that has been written concerning it, but this description by Scudder of a Puritan Sabbath day gives, at least, a breath of it. Religion was the vital thing then; all else was but subordinate. One may recount tales of hardship and plenty, of meagre culture

and limited outlook, of political dissensions, of swift rising prosperity; but if one forgets the religious motif of the story, there can be little understanding of the early Puritan folk, and less sympathy. The Winthrop era stands out among the landmarks of Boston's history, not because it was the first, but because it was so completely one of religion. We may quarrel with the faith of the Puritans, condemn its ideas and practices, but there is no getting away from the fact that it was the foundation upon which Boston was built. It is easy to see now, that the theocratic Utopia which the Puritans hoped to create was a mistaken ideal, one impossible of realization; nevertheless it was the ideal to which Winthrop gave the best years of his life, and the one which held sway in the direction of the town life for the three decades of that life, and persisted for many years after his death. Unlikely, as it may seem, out of this narrow ideal came many of the better things of which we are now so proud, and to it may be traced those higher stages of culture, education, literature and the like which is so precious an inheritance of the present. If Boston be "different," if it be true that it has a culture and a character that is unlike other cities, it is not too much to insist that the principal reason for this uniqueness lies in its having been founded in religion, the religion of which the Godly Winthrop, during the crucial beginning period was the main leader and exponent.

The Arrival of New Notables—Because emphasis has been given to the Winthrop name and dominance in the account of the crucial first period of the Boston settlement, it does not mean that there were no other or even few notables who arrived in Boston during the height of the Puritan emigration. The signers of the Cambridge compact have already been mentioned. In early November of the second year, 1631, the truly remarkable Margaret, wife of the Governor, came accompanied by the eldest son, the second John Winthrop, who made a name for himself as the Governor of Connecticut. On the same good ship "Lyon," was John Eliot, who was ordained the next year as the minister of the Roxbury congregation. Of this church Eliot remained the revered pastor until his death in 1690; but he is better known to the world at large as the "Apostle to the Indians." The needs of the aboriginal dwellers in New England made such an appeal to him, and he gave himself, as did no other, to the betterment and especially the Christianizing of the Indians. He traveled far and wide gathering them in groups and preaching to and teaching them. The town of Natick in nearby Middlesex County, was founded by him as an Indian settlement, and was the most elaborate attempt made by the Puritans to improve the condition of the race they found in possession of the land. Eliot not only studied the Indian tongue, but gave them a written language. His grammar and Bible in the dialect are

among the greatest of the pieces of literature produced by the early Puritans in this country. In June, 1632, the "William and Francis," making her second trip to the Bay, brought, among other "honest men," John Welde, who became John Eliot's colleague in the Roxbury church after Eliot began to make Boston the headquarters of his Indian work.

The great event of the year 1663 was the arrival of the ship "Griffin" with a truly great acquisition to the Boston colony. Winthrop chronicles the event in his Journal:

"September 4. The Griffin, a ship of three hundred tons, arrived (having been eight weeks from the Downs). This ship was brought in by John Gallop a new way by Lovell's Island, at low water, now called Griffin's Gap. She brought 200 passengers. . . . In this ship came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, ministers, and Mr. Peirce, Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), Mr. Hoffe, and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the High Commission; but the master being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuivants attended there, and, in the meantime, the said ministers were taken in at the Downs. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went presently to Newtowne, where they were to be entertained, and Mr. Cotton stayed at Boston." The Governor's list, had he been able to look into the future, would have mentioned several others of the "Griffin's" passengers whose names were to become well known in Boston. Thomas Leverett, for example, became one of Boston's most esteemed citizens, as he had been in old Boston where he had been an influential supporter of John Cotton. Hoffe, as he pronounced it, was Atherton Hough, a former mayor of Old Boston; Edmund Quincy, another passenger, was the progenitor of the Quincy family, three representatives of which have been mayors of New England Boston. The Hutchinsons, Anne, the first "woman's rights" exponent in America, and her husband, with the minister John Wheelwright, brother-in-law, who when banished founded Exeter, New Hampshire.

John Haynes was elected Governor in 1635; Hooker and Stone quickly dropped out of Boston's life. Winthrop's Journal gives a significant picture of the migratory spirit of our forefathers, a picture whose counterpart has been reproduced a thousand times in the history of New England. "Mr. Hooker, pastor of the church at New Town, and most of his congregation went to Connecticut. His wife was carried on a horse litter, and they drove an hundred and sixty cattle and fed of their milk by the way." The Puritans were born pioneers; their coming to Massachusetts was but the first step on the westward journey continued in this country until two centuries later it had reached the Pacific Coast. One

now finds New England towns, New England character and culture in many parts of that vast territory stretching due west from Massachusetts and her neighboring Puritan founded States.

A "Shining Light"—Was it intuition that made John Winthrop repeat Cotton's name and place it at the end of the account in his Journal? Cotton was, indeed, an acquisition to Boston; he was to be a "Shining Light." For twenty years he had been the vicar of St. Botolph's Church of Boston, England, but falling under the ban of John Laud, had to put the ocean between them. He was ordained the year of his arrival, as colleague and teacher of the church in Boston and soon became one of the religious leaders of the colony. He brought with him certain views of civil government which reacted to the disadvantage of Winthrop. He held, and tried to enforce his notion, "that a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause." The Governor, under the necessity of expressing his opinion concurred with Cotton, and the practical answer of the Court was to elect another man in his place.

Little is known about John Cotton, for it was as a preacher that he shone, and his brilliancy in this line is not manifest in his published sermons. Boston is said by some to have been named in his honor, but Boston was named as such two years before his arrival on these shores. He was a learned man, deeply versed in the ancient languages. Edward Everett wrote what is inscribed on the memorial tablet in the Cotton Chapel of St. Botolph's, Old England: "In perpetual memory of John Cotton, . . . for many years a grave, skilful and laborious vicar of this church. . . . He sought a new settlement in a new world, and remained even to the end of his life a pastor and teacher of great reputation and of the greatest authority in the first church of Boston . . ."

Before Winthrop was returned to office as the chief magistrate, Dudley, who had replaced him, was in turn superseded by John Haynes. Then came to Boston Sir Henry Vane, son of the Comptroller of the King's household, a handsome, brilliant young man of twenty-five. Red tape was cut to give him the right hand of fellowship and make him one of the innermost circle of the colony, and a member of John Cotton's church. Within a year he was elected Governor, and upon his youthful shoulders were thrust the governmental and religious burdens of the town and colony. Of his wisdom, his after life is evidence, his diplomacy was manifest in his handling of most of the civil affairs of the colony. But all this availed him but little when he tried to settle the controversy that arose over Anne Hutchinson, and the ideas she held. This difficulty, known later as the Antinomian Controversy, was the first violent combined religious and civil trouble in the history of the colony. Vane, as

true a Puritan as any, but cosmopolitan by training and naturally broad minded, inclined towards a liberal attitude in the "little Boston tempest." The amiable Winthrop, as a colonist who had given greatly for peace in religion and state, could consider only the preservation of that peace and state. It was liberal against conservative, with Vane as the leader of one faction and Winthrop of the other. The conservative element won; Vane was defeated for Governor and returned to England, there to continue his remarkable career which ended in his execution. Winthrop stayed with the colony he led and suffered for the peace he so desired but was unable to secure. When he passed on, and Endicott resigned as the chief magistrate, the colony was deep into one of the most disgraceful epochs of its early history.

The Antinomian Controversy—The Antinomian Controversy, which began this era of repression, seems, to the modern mind, but a theological squabble. The phrases bandied back and forth, "Covenant of Grace" and "Covenant of Works," "justification and sanctification" now have lost all meaning. One sees the picture of a woman teaching that the religion that is in man's heart is of more import than his outward piety, and one is inclined to agree. If the definition of Antinomianism is taken as it is, "The belief that faith frees the Christian from conformity to the moral law," one begins to see the possibilities for argument. But that so tremendous a struggle should arise over such a matter, that the intellectuals of that day should take such violent stands on one side or the other of the controversy, and push their prosecution of them to such extreme measures is, today, difficult of understanding. The importance of the Anne Hutchinson affair, and of the persecutions which followed of other religious exponents, lies in the very fact that just such things could and did occur, and play an important rôle in the development of the early New Englander.

"The so-called 'Antinomian' episode," writes M. A. De Wolfe Howe, "was one of the significant events of the first decade in Boston, and as such deserves some special scrutiny." "Boston never wanted a good principle of rebellion in it," said Emerson, "from the planting until now. The rebellion led by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was against a blind following of the ruling clergy. It has well been described as 'New England's earliest protest against formulas.' Its leader stands head and shoulders above the transcendental women of all periods of Boston history in her success in putting the whole machinery of the church and state out of running order." The significant phrase in this quotation is that which tells of the rebellion against the "ruling clergy," for to understand it even a little, it must not be forgotten that, not only was there a large proportionate number of ministers among the founders of Boston, but that these

were men of unusual gifts and education, and for several decades were the ruling class in the Puritan Commonwealth. Even the magistrates were ecclesiastically inclined when not ordained, and however sincere, all were relentless in their endeavors to conserve their powers and rule.

John Cotton and Anne Hutchinson—Anne Hutchinson, whose name was the synonym for Antinomianism was a thoroughly good woman, "to whose person and conduct there attaches no stain." A former member of John Cotton's St. Botolph Church, upon her arrival in Boston in 1634, made application for membership in the congregation of which Cotton was the associate pastor. Reports of her extravagant religious opinions had preceded her, but after a searching examination, she was admitted into fellowship in the church. Brilliant, naturally gifted in argument, magnetic, critical perhaps, she soon had a following among the women of Boston who delighted to meet with her and listen to her discussion of the sermon preached the Sunday just gone. Into these talks were injected her personal ideas and faith. Often her recapitulation of the sermon was little more than a preachment of her own, the gist of which was, that there were "elect" folk in the world, who although unordained and no part of the clergy, were equal to or above the ministry. Certain preachers in the colony were under this "Covenant of Grace," Cotton for one, but most were not. To the "elect" were given direct revelations of the will of God, the recipients of which were by this very fact lifted above any civil or religious law, and no longer to be judged or controlled by them. Such revelations as she professed to receive were, for the most part, condemnatory of the clergy and decidedly subversive of all authority in the colony, ecclesiastical or other.

Such teaching could neither go unnoticed nor unchecked, or the very foundations of the colony would be undermined and the whole structure fall in ruins. The clergy gathered, and, calling upon Cotton to explain where he stood, managed to get the lady to meet them in private conference to thrash the whole matter out. Traps were set for Mrs. Hutchinson, into which she was too clever to fall. Finally she was begged to deal openly and speak her mind. It may be that the atmosphere of the meeting had changed; perhaps it was with the feeling that she was speaking in confidence to honorable men. At any rate, she frankly told them she believed that there was a difference between the ministry of John Cotton, and some of the other ministers, and that the reason for it was that he had "the seal of the Spirit" which the others had not.

The Trial of Anne Hutchinson—Her words sealed her doom, although her punishment was to come later. She had spoken against the clergy, and as a man they joined against her. Even John Cotton left her and came to the defense of his profession. There was far more to the con-

troversy than clerical resentment, for the colony had taken up the fight and was in danger of a division which would bring about its destruction. Many of the principal inhabitants of Boston ranged themselves on the side of Mrs. Hutchinson. There were real signs of lawlessness as the dispute spread among "the common sort of people." No fewer than seventy-six residents of Boston were disarmed because of their sympathy with her. There is no need of going into the charges and counter-charges, the hearings, Synod and trials. The Synod found eighty-two charges of heresy against the lady, besides a variety of other things.

Mrs. Crawford says of the trial, in the course of which Mrs. Hutchinson was condemned and sentenced to banishment, that it "is one of the ghastliest things in the history of the colony." In her "St. Botolph's Town" she goes on to say: "The prisoner, who was about to become a mother, was made to stand until she was exhausted, the while those in whom she had confided as friends plied her with endless questions about her theological beliefs. Through two long weary days of hunger and cold she defended herself as well as she could before these 'men of God,' but her able words availed her nothing; she had disparaged the ministers and they were resolved to be avenged. Though Coddington pointed out that 'No law of man or God' had been broken by the woman before them, she was none the less banished 'as unfit for our society.' So there was driven out of the city she had adopted the most remarkable intellect Boston ever made historic by misunderstanding." The Reverend Mr. Wilson pronounced her sentence of excommunication: "Therefore in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the name of the church, I do not only pronounce you worthy to be cast out, but I do cast you out; and in the name of Christ I do deliver you up to Satan, that you may learn no more to blaspheme, to seduce and to lie; and I do account you from this time forth to be a Heathen and a Publican, and so to be held of all the Brethren and Sisters of this congregation and of others; therefore I command you in the name of Christ Jesus and this church as a Leper to withdraw yourself out of this congregation." Whether Mrs. Hutchinson went to Satan and learned no more "to blaspheme, seduce and lie" under his tuition is unknown. We do know that she with her loyal husband and a few friends went to Rhode Island, and that later, just outside New York, the whole family except one child was massacred by Indians.

Others were punished in the general political house-cleaning that followed the trial of Anne Hutchinson. Two of her followers were both disfranchised and fined; eight disfranchised, two fined and three banished. Before we sit in judgment of the Antinomian controversy and its results, it might be well to recall that this was a family affair, one in which all parties concerned were bound together by the freeman's oath and the "fellowship of the saints." Roger Williams was not a citizen of

the Commonwealth when he was thrust out because of his beliefs; and the Quakers, who later disturbed the peace of Boston, were unwelcome visitors. When a sister misbehaves either she must change her ways or leave the parental roof. Boston faced disaster while Mrs. Hutchinson lived there and taught ideas ruinous to its solidarity. However harsh the treatment, it was meted out by those who were honest in believing that in so doing they were saving the theocracy which had been established at such great cost.

Roger Williams Banished—The banishment of Roger Williams and the later persecution of the Quakers belong in quite a different category from that of the Hutchinson controversy. These were cases of outsiders daring to upset the affairs of a settled state. Williams, it is true, had been invited to come and be one of the family, or at least, the Puritan Bostonians were glad to have him arrive. They were unfamiliar with his beliefs, however, and when he began to expound such radical doctrines as: that man was responsible solely to God in all matters of religion; that magistrates had no right to impose penalties for the breaking of church rules; and that dreadful Anabaptistic doctrine that adults should be baptized; Boston made another hero for the pages of history by expelling him. There was no injustice in all this from the viewpoint of the Puritan. They had come to Massachusetts to be free to worship God as they pleased, and to manage their own affairs as *they* pleased. Their purpose was to secure freedom for themselves but not to give freedom to anyone but themselves. Less than a year after their arrival in Boston, the ruling had been made that only members of their church in good standing could be "freemen" and enjoy to the full the benefits of the colony. In 1637, an order of the court decided "that none should be allowed to inhabit her but by the permission of the Magistrates." Just prior to the Antinomian Controversy, a law was passed which imposed a heavy fine upon any citizen who, without permission of the authorities, should receive in his home a stranger intending to remain, or to rent such a person land or dwelling-house. In other words, those who were not wanted in the colony were free to keep out. In the years that followed, this freedom to keep away was severely enforced. It was the too brutal enforcement of such ideas as were embodied in the laws against the Quakers that led to a royal restraint of the high handed procedures of the magistrates and opened the way for the loss of the Colonial charter. To quote Howe again: "In point of austerity in administering justice, the seventeenth century Bostonian was very much a man of his time, with contemporary faults and virtues blended in special proportions from the general supply of good and ill. In Hawthorne's characterization of Endicott, 'who would stand with drawn sword at the gate of Heaven and

resist to the death all pilgrims thither, except they who travelled in his path,' we find a memorable suggestion of the chief and distinguishing fault, if such it be, of the race of New England Puritans."

Persecution of the Quakers—The "Quaker Episode," although brief, three years, was the climax of the religio-civil persecutions in Boston. One can understand and excuse the horror felt by the magistrates and elders of this new people, "in contempt called Quakers." The heresy which this sect exemplified had risen abroad, the knowledge of it reaching Massachusetts some time before any of its exponents had found their way to the colony. President Dunster, of Harvard, wrote a warning letter to Boston two years before ever a Quaker had been found in the town: "A sect called Quakers doe much increase rayleing much att the ministry and refusing to sho any reverence to magestrates. We hope they wil be confounded and ashamed of their Tenetts; butt I could desire thatt some stricter course were taken than is." There was no lack of a strict course being taken by Boston when once it started to rid itself of this new threat to the peace and continuity of their Commonwealth. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, the first of the Quakers, were allowed to land only as prisoners. Their belongings were searched as well as their persons; a hundred books found were burned in the market-place by the hangman; and after five weeks the two were deported. There were no laws to cover such acts, but this was quickly remedied that same year (1656) by a whole series of fines, mutilations, banishment, and death penalties which were to be meted out to not only such of the sect who should enter the town, but to those who attended any of their meetings, befriended them in any way, or even failed to inform upon them.

The Quakers of that day are not to be considered to be other than violent precursors of the gentle-minded "Friend" of today. Indeed, not so many years later (1693) a Philadelphia Friend visiting the Quakers of Boston was led to exclaim at their barbarous welcome, "O! what a pity it was that all the society were not hanged with the other four," having reference to the execution of the Quakers on the Common in 1659-61. The Quakers, as the Puritan Boston saw them, were mostly an illiterate lot, fanatics of the wildest type, reckless, seemingly seeking martyrdom. They claimed divine illumination and guidance in their violences. "Their objurgatory denunciation of Magistrates and ministers; their bitter revilings; their contempt of preaching and ordinances; their dismal prophesying of awful divine judgments to come upon the colony in black pox, in pestilences and all dreaded calamities; and their unseemly and indecent behavior, designed to have a symbolic meaning—exasperated those whom they denounced beyond the limits of patient endurance." They would remove their clothes in the street and smear

themselves with wet ashes; enter the churches in sack-cloth and break bottles over the head of the clergy to express the "emptiness" of the minister; they hurled all manner of abuse at everything touching the religion of the Puritans, defying persecution and even returning after being driven out for further ill-treatment.

Quaker Executions—They deserved punishment for their civil offenses, but not such as was given to them. As one contemplates the two sets of antagonists, each sober-minded literalists, both intolerant, both sure of their religious rightness and divine guidance, one knows not whether to laugh or be sorrowful. Just a bit of a sense of humor on either side would have prevented the disgraceful outcome of the whole affair. Instead there were imprisonments, beatings with many stripes, mutilations, banishments and death. Somewhere under the sod of the Common lie the ashes of four Quakers who were hanged as the culmination of the strife. One of them was released after the hangman's noose was around her neck, Mary Dyer, but she returned from banishment before a year had passed to suffer the postponed penalty.

The last execution, March, 1661, marked the height of the storm, but the last flash of punishment was delayed until 1677. Sewall records that on July 8, of this year, "In sermon time there came in a female Quaker, in a canvas frock, her hair disshevelled and loose like a Periwigg, her face as black as ink, led by two other Quakers and two others following. It occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw. Isaiah i. 12, 14." Whittier dramatized the scene:

Save the mournful sackcloth about her wound,
Unclothed as the primal mother,
With limbs that trembled and eyes that blazed
With a fire she dared not smother. . . .

And the minister paused in his sermon's midst
And the people held their breath,
For these were the words the maiden said
Through lips as pale as death: . . .

Repent! repent! ere the Lord shall speak
In thunder and breaking seals!
Let all souls worship him in the way
His light within reveals.

She shook the dust from her naked feet
And her sackcloth closer drew,
And into the porch of the awe-hushed church
She passed like a ghost from view.

Margaret Brewster was brought to trial for her offense. She plead with the Governor "to put an end to these cruel laws that you have made to fetch my friends from their peaceable meetings, and keep them in the house of correction, and then whip them." The stern answer came, "Margaret Brewster, you are to have your clothes stript off to the mid-

dle, and to be tied to a cart's tail at the South Meeting-house, and be drawn through the town, and to receive twenty stripes on your naked body."

The Forced Rise of Liberalism—The Quaker persecutions came toward the closing years of Puritanism as the sole rule in New England. One of the banished Quakers sought redress from the King. Charles II sent back the order that members of this sect would henceforth be tried in England. The franchise in the colony was no longer to be confined to members of the Puritan church. This rule was evaded until the uncovenanted non-voters of the colony forced compliance. Within a few years a provincial government was substituted for the charter, and the Puritan domination was broken. The first great landmark in the social development of Boston was religion. "The people of Boston," says Henry Cabot Lodge, "practically went from work to religion and from religion to work with little to break the monotony." However much we may deplore the characteristics of that religion and the extremes to which it drove our forefathers, we must acknowledge the virtues which it begat, and the lofty purposes of those who followed its tenets. The experiment to build a state from a church failed, but the city that they founded remains as a monument to their effort. "The survival from it (Puritanism) in tradition, in influence, in the sway of manifold habits and customs, and in the lessons of childhood retaining their power over those who lived to advanced age, perpetuated very much of its austere and characteristic qualities in this community. Nor even in these days, among the mixed and diversified elements of our population and all the relaxing and liberalizing results of the most radical social change, is the fire in the ashes of Puritanism wholly extinguished."

The break-down of the Puritan theocracy did not mean that religion ceased from being the dominating factor in Boston affairs. It really became more powerful in many respects. The breaches had been made in the political walls of the Puritan state, and through them entered other sects. This but added to the religious character of the settlement, although religion expanded a bit and became more liberal and broad in its manifestations. This is true in spite of the fact that the witchcraft delusion was still to rage in the colony. Even the later entrance of royal Governors and the setting up of a miniature royal court, did not, at first, overcome the Puritanism of Massachusetts. Commerce made strides at this time, opening new vistas of money prosperity to the colony, and particularly to Boston. The coming of wealth, with its new ideas, new desires, novel pleasures seems to have reacted well rather than badly upon religion when brought in close association with the church. The churches became more numerous, the places of worship larger and more

largely attended. Not until the next century did the commercial spirit begin to dominate the religious. The church of the day became a better church, and the mistakes made were the mistakes of the times rather than of bigotry. If the warfare against witches was carried on with horrible vigor, it must be remembered that the belief in witchcraft was universal in that day; nor has it passed completely in our present period.

The Mather Dynasty—So it is when one searches for the dominant men of the era which followed Winthrop's reign, we find religious leaders still stand out against the background of the expanding life of Boston. If one name were to be chosen as standing for the period which carried over into the eighteenth century, that name would be "Mather," or better the "Mathers." If there be one family that more than any other left its mark upon Boston's history and character, that family is the Mather, members of which through four generations shed their influence over the town for nearly a century and a half. The "Dynasty of the Mathers," the story of it offers a "remarkable illustration of power— theological and otherwise—transmitted through at least four generations"; an example of the manner in which great men's lives affect the destiny of a community.

The first of the name, Richard Mather, came to Boston in 1635 at the age of thirty-nine; his grandson, Samuel, died in the same town in 1785 at the age of seventy-nine. "There were eleven of this lineage trained for the sacred office in these four generations three of whom, two Samuels and one Nathaniel, exercised their ministry in England; while another Nathaniel died there on the threshold of the ministry; and seven Richard Eleazer, Increase, two Samuels, Cotton and Warham, expended about 250 years of ministerial labor on New England, besides publishing more than 500 different works." Richard, under the ban for non-conformity in England, sought free speech on this side of the water, and after being sought by the churches at Plymouth, Dorchester and Roxbury, located at Dorchester where he labored for thirty-three years. He was a far bigger man than was realized in his day and the fame of his sons and grandsons have somewhat hidden his greatness. He was a student, writer, orator, a leader of men.

Of his six sons, four followed the profession of their father. The best known of the four in Boston annals was Increase, the youngest, born in Dorchester, June 21, 1639. Of weakly constitution, much of his education was by private tutor, but he took his degree at Harvard when seventeen; preached his first sermon on his nineteenth birthday, sailed to England and took his M. A. degree at Trinity College, Dublin, where his eldest brother was minister. After pastorates in various places abroad, he returned to this country when twenty-two and was ordained

pastor of the Second Church of Boston, May 27-June 6, 1664, a connection which he held for nearly sixty years. For seventeen years of this pastorate, he was president of Harvard College, or "until displaced in the first throes of that theological convulsion which was to shake New England." However weak his constitution in boyhood, he seems to have suffered from few "weaknesses of the flesh" during mature life. He could spend sixteen hours a day in his library, take care of his church, preach long and well, travel widely through the colony, go to England as a special agent of the colony, serving for four years as such, and despite his never-ending round of activities find time to issue more than 150 publications. "Increase Mather was, questionless, the greatest though not the most noted, of his name."

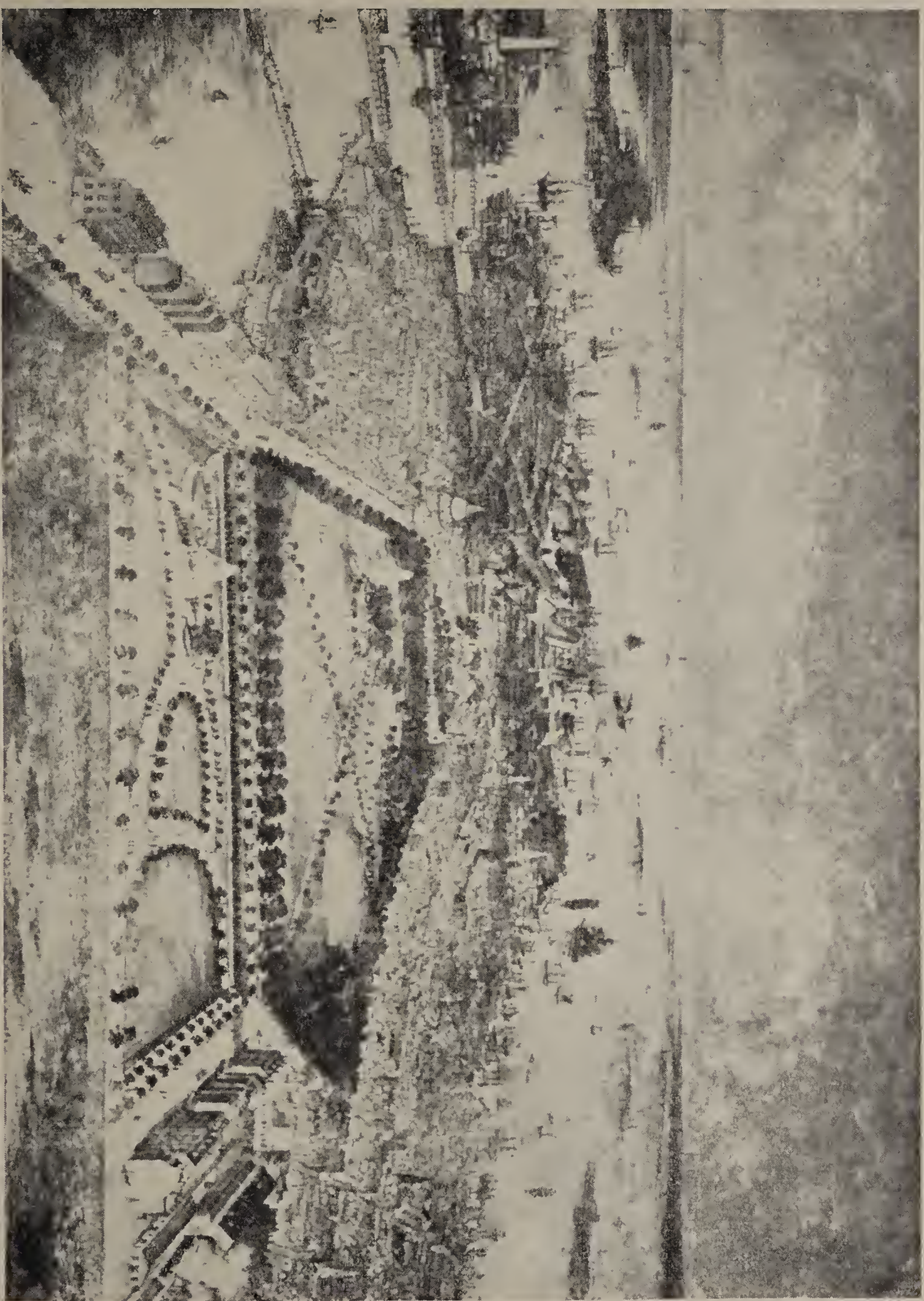
Cotton Mather—Cotton Mather, son of Increase and grandson of Richard, seems to have inherited much of the talent of both ancestors and the physical weakness of his father. He was also afflicted with "idleness" if we may believe his preceptor. Nevertheless, weakness, idleness and all, he managed to graduate from Harvard when less than fifteen years and a half old, the youngest to receive the bachelor degree. To overcome an impediment of speech that threatened to prevent his entry upon his father's profession, he taught for some time. After serving as assistant to his father for two years, Cotton was ordained to the joint pastorate, which position he held for forty-three years, or until his death at sixty-five, in February, 1728.

In view of the "weakness" of the boy, and his "idleness," some explanation should be given of his ability to earn a college degree before reaching the age of sixteen. His own explanation is all that need be offered. When chided by his father for his idleness, Cotton Mather wrote: "The thing that occasioned me much idle time was the Distance of My Father's Habitation from the School; which caused him out of compassion for my Tender and Weakly constitution to keep me at home in the Winter. However, I then much employed myself in Church History; and when the Summer arrived I so plied my business that thro' the Blessing of God upon my Endeavors, at the age of little more than eleven years I had composed many Latin exercises, both in Prose and verse, and could speak Latin so readily, that I could write notes of sermons of the English Preacher in it. I had conversed with Cato, Corderius, Tully, Ovid and Virgil. I had made Epistles and Themes to my Master, without his requiring or expecting as yet any such thing of me; whereupon he complimented me *Laudabilis Diligentia tua* (your diligence deserves praise). I had gone through a great part of the New Testament in Greek, I had read considerably in Socrates and Homer, and I had made some entrance in my Hebrew grammar. And I think before I became

fourteen, I composed Hebrew exercises and Ran thro' the other Sciences, that Academical Students ordinarily fall upon."

The lad who took himself so seriously in youth did not fail to take his affairs soberly as a man. Unfortunately, his like extended into the period when the minister was no longer the chief magistrate, when Calvinism no more was the sole, or the principal religion of the town, and the townsfolk forgot the greatness of the Mather dynasty. Nothing can take away from the goodness or the greatness of Cotton Mather. He labored as few men could as preacher, pastor and writer. His list of published works reach the remarkable total of 382. Granting that many of these were merely sermons which were not such brief productions after all, there were many of large size, one being a folio of 800 pages. He invaded all realms of literature. If, as some insist, the most of his works were worthless—well, so is most of that which we call literature. He was a reactionary, but who would not have been in his day and placed in his position. On the other hand, think of the courage and progressiveness of a man, who in a day when inoculation against smallpox was fought with a fervor worthy of the Inquisition, while half the population of Boston was ill with the disease, could desire to try the new remedy upon himself, and did, when his age and value to the community was considered too great to make wise the risk, stand by and have his son infected with the disease, and his "kinsman" as well, while an angry mob tried to destroy him. It was a daring move forward in medicine, and the triumph of the pioneer against opposition was extraordinary and worthy of our highest praise. If he failed of appreciation, in Massachusetts, it is to be recalled that at one time he was "in correspondence with more than fifty learned Europeans, and received from the University of Glasgow the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and made a Fellow of the Royal Society, both in those days, for a remote colonist, being remarkable distinctions." The "New England Weekly Journal" of February 26, 1728, in publishing the notice of Cotton Mather's funeral, had this to say: "He was, perhaps, the principal Ornament of this Country, and the greatest Scholar that was ever bred in it. But, besides his unusual learning, his exalted Piety and extensive Charity, his entertaining Wit, and singular Goodness of temper, recommended him to those who were Judges of real and distinguished merit."

Samuel, the only son of Cotton Mather, who lived to middle age, brought the "dynasty" to an end, as neither of his three sons studied for the ministry. Samuel graduated when seventeen from Harvard, 1723, and four years after his father's death was ordained over the Boston church. Internal difficulties led to his removal to a church of his own making where he labored until his death in 1785. He was, possibly, worthy of more notice than has ever been given him. The Reverend Mr.



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF BOSTON AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1850

Dexter, in his brochure on the Mathers, amends an epitaph, said to have been written for his great-grandfather, and made it to read:

Under this stone lies Richard Mather,
Who had a son greater than his father,
And eke a grandson more famous than either,
But the next generation failed—rather.

An Appreciation of the Mathers—From the above-quoted gifted writer, Henry Martyn Dexter, the following lucid summary is taken:

It remains to refer, in the fewest words, to that more general influence as public men which was exerted over the community by these marvelous Mathers,—a department of the subject necessarily too vague for exact treatment. The Dorchester pioneer scored his mark upon his time mainly in his gown and bands and through his work as an Elder, "the Lord making him an Eminent Blessing not only to Dorchester, but to all the Churches and Plantations round about, for the space of Four-and-thirty years." His son realized a more imperial mastery over his contemporaries, in the pulpit for more than half a century reigning supreme; over the college for a third of that time he also ruled with vigor, dignity, and success. To this popularity he gradually added the repute of a man exceptionally learned, sagacious, energetic, and peerless among his fellows in the management of affairs; and throwing himself upon the people's side in the conflict with the Crown and its myrmidons, and standing before kings on the people's behalf, he gained still loftier distinction as a diplomatist. It is not, probably, too much to say that for many years he was the first subject in the colony; as Professor Tyler puts it. . . .

Born in America, bred in America,—a clean specimen of what America could do for itself in the way of keeping up the brave stock of its first imported citizens; a man every way capable of filling any place in public leadership made vacant by the greatest of the Fathers; probably not a whit behind the best of them in scholarship, in eloquence, in breadth of view, in knowledge of affairs, in every sort of efficiency.

To the full length and breadth of this, his father's fame and sway, Cotton Mather—although in some respects more gifted, and in some departments more learned—never succeeded. His lot fell upon different days. The old ways were in process of being changed. The ecclesiastical and civil powers no longer synonymized each other. He did his manifold utmost to stay the ebbing of the tide, but day by day could feel the acceleration of its subsidence. Still, with his big wig, his gleaming eyes, his grave yet comely face and scholarly dignity of bearing, as he walked about the streets of his native place, he had at least the port and bearing of a nobleman, if not, like his father, monarch of all he surveyed. And his manifest and controlling desire to be helpful, at whatever personal sacrifice and in whatever way, small or great, among even the deteriorating populace, made him, so long as he lived, one of the marked men of Boston, and, despite the great drawback of his obvious faults, caused his demise to be lamented as the loss and sorrow of the town and country. That he almost endured martyrdom in gallantly contending for that inoculative ante-treatment of that loathsome pest which every few years was then accustomed to decimate the community, which is now well-nigh universally conceded to be, in point of philosophy and in point of fact, one of the most useful of modern illustrations of the ancient proverb that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is now mainly forgotten; while every graduate in a primer of history from the vast height of our "High Schools" of today voices a new sneer against his memory, as the "credulous" and "cruel" apostle and primate of the witchcraft mania and murders.

The Witchcraft Delusion—The tragedy of the "Witchcraft Delusion" is no more a blot on the escutcheon of the Mathers than it is upon the whole world, civilized or pagan. Cotton Mather was simply unfortunate in being a leader of his age, and as such the person who most clearly voiced his conclusions, and pushed his decisions to their logical ends. As the one most consulted by the magistrates, he had, in Boston at least, the most to do with the attempt to stamp out diabolism. For his own delusion he was to blame, but hardly for the rise of the whole miserable business. As one student has pointed out, "If today his (Mather's) records of spiritual phenomena were first appearing as reports of psychical research, they would stand forth as unprecedented statements, but in many instances would mark the recorder as a careful investigator and historian of occult science."

Why writers from 1700 down to the present should make so much of witchcraft in New England and overlook the vast amount of material to be found in the histories of the European countries of that time, is hard to understand. William Poole, in his chapter on Witchcraft in the "Memorial History of Boston," remarks that "A full and impartial account of English and Scottish diabolism has never commended itself as a subject of historical investigation, to a modern English writer." He also points out that "While it (the witchcraft delusion) raged in Europe, 30,000 victims perished in the British Islands, 75,000 in France, 100,000 in Germany, and corresponding numbers in Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden. Witchcraft in New England was of a sporadic type compared with its epidemic and protracted violence in the Old World; and yet the thirty-two executions in the New England colonies, for supposed confederation with devils, have filled a larger space in history and in public attention than the thirty thousand similar executions which occurred in the mother country. . . . The New England colonists had no views concerning witchcraft and diabolical agency which they did not bring from the Old World. The persecutions in England were never carried on with a blinder zeal and more fatal results than during the first twenty years after Governor Winthrop and his company landed in Boston."

The Four Victims of the Witchcraft Persecutions—It is hardly necessary to go far into the nauseous details of the witchcraft persecutions as found in the enormous mass of literature concerning them which has come down to us. Executions for diabolism were but few in Boston; there were only four of which there are records. These occurred over a period of forty years, and three of them occurred before Increase Mather was seventeen. The first execution was that of Margaret Jones of Charlestown, June 15, 1648. Her crime seems to have been that she was

strong minded, had a temper, talked too freely and to the point. A boy of the time, John Hale, with some of his neighbors visited her the day of her execution, and says of the incident: "The first (witch executed) was a woman of Charlestown, Anno 1647 or 1648. She was suspected, partly, because that, after some angry words passing between her and her neighbors, some mischief befell such neighbors in their creatures (cattle) or the like; partly because some things supposed to be bewitched, or have a charm upon them, being burned, she came to the fire and seemed concerned." She insisted to the end that she was free from witchcraft. Even after her death, her reputed diabolism clung to another, for her husband upon taking ship to leave Boston was thrown into prison, because the vessel which was rolling at her wharf, stopped doing so when the man was ashore. This story is recounted with all seriousness in the Journal of Governor Winthrop.

Mary Parsons, of Springfield, was the second to be executed in Boston, May 29, 1651. As she was indicted on two counts, the first being witchcraft and the second "for murdering her own child." She confessed to the second count, and was condemned for this, so this may fairly be eliminated from the executions in Boston for diabolism. The third victim was Mrs. Ann Hibbins, widow of one of the leading merchants of Boston, and one of the most honored citizens of the colony. Wealthy in her own right, of high social standing, reputed to be the sister of the former Governor, Richard Bellingham, it seems strange that such a woman should have been put to so ignominious a death. And it is even more strange "that not a particle of contemporary evidence on which she was convicted has been preserved." If we may infer anything from tradition and conjectures, this was another case of an ill temper which aroused the wrath of the neighbors. Much money had been lost during the later years of her husband's life; the lady became crabbed and quarrelsome until her exasperated neighbors accused her of witchcraft.

The Case of Goody Glover—The writer would not imply that the cases of witchcraft in New England were incidents of citizens trying to be rid of unpleasant neighbors, but it is rather odd that most of the charges of witchcraft were made against persons whose tempers made for them enemies of their associates. The last execution for witchcraft in Boston was that of Goody Glover, on November 16, 1688. Concerning this affair there is a large amount of detail given by the Mathers and other contemporaries. To quote a bit from Governor Hutchinson's abstract of the case: "Four children of John Goodwin . . . were generally believed to be bewitched . . . The children were all remarkable for ingenuity of temper, had been religiously educated, and were thought to be without guile. The eldest was a girl of thirteen or fourteen years.

She had charged a laundress with taking away some of the family linen. The mother of the laundress was one of the wild Irish, of bad character, and gave the girl harsh language; soon after which she fell into fits which were said to have something diabolical in them. One of her sisters and two of her brothers followed her example, it is said, and were tormented in some parts of their bodies at the same time, although kept in separate apartments . . . (omitting a description of the disorders). The ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept a day of fasting and prayer at the troubled house, after which the youngest child made no more complaints. The others persevered, and the magistrates then interposed, and the woman was apprehended; but upon examination would neither confess nor deny and appeared disordered in her senses. Upon the report of physicians that she was *compos mentis*, she was executed, declaring at her death that the children would not be relieved." The children were not relieved by her death. Cotton Mather wrote: "It came to pass accordingly, the three children continued in their furnace which grew seven times hotter than before, and they gave more sensible demonstrations of an enchantment, growing very far towards a possession of evil spirits." The children eventually grew out of their indispositions, and became thoroughly normal citizens.

Several other cases of witchcraft occurred in Boston in later years, mostly of the same character as the bewitchment of the Goodwin children. The Mather method of prayer and fasting was used in their treatment and seemingly was efficacious. Mather wrote: "All that I have now to publish is, that Prayer and Faith was the thing which drove the Devils from the children; and I am to bear this testimony unto the world; That the Lord is nigh to all them who call upon Him in truth, and that blessed are they that wait for Him." However much Mather may have been perplexed as to the nature of diabolical possession, he never wavered in his full belief in its reality, and in the efficacy of prayer in its cure. There is this which must be put large on the credit side of his sheet by those who would sit in judgment: he tried to keep private the names of those accused by those afflicted lest some "good person" might suffer "blemish." He seems to have had his doubts of the rightness of "spectral evidence" as accepted by the Salem courts in proof of witchcraft. Naturally Cotton Mather was much sought by persons accused of diabolism, and if he visited Salem at the height of the Delusion, it was to minister to those accused; "he never attended an examination or a trial."

The witchcraft delusion eventually went to such extremes that no one was safe from accusation. Even Mr. Willard, pastor of the Old South church, came under the ban, and the wife of the royal Governor, Lady Phips was named. The jails were filled, executions multiplied, everyone

began to fear for his safety. Something had to be done and that immediately or "the country would be devoured by the flames." It was Governor Phips who brought the proceedings to an end. The court instituted for the prosecution of witches was summarily dismissed, and a general pardon issued to all those accused or convicted. The "witchcraft delusion" did not "explode" and disappear at this time, as some writers would have it; it simply ceased to be an important factor in the affairs of that period. Accusations were brought against individuals for many years afterward, but juries could not be found who would bring in a verdict of guilty. A few of the leading actors made public confession of wrong doing in the trials, Judge Samuel Sewall being the most notable. The most of those concerned believed, as did Mather, that they had acted "according to the best light God had given them."

The witchcraft persecutions ceased and the end of the colonial period came within a few years of each other. The charter was lost in spite of the strenuous efforts made to keep it in force. Increase Mather, who had been in England representing the colony in the endeavor to have the ancient charter restored, returned beaten in this, but with Sir William Phips, his choice for Governor, if a royal province Massachusetts had to be. Mather was still president of Harvard College while abroad, and one of his efforts in England had been to secure a new charter for the college, which would make it strictly a non-conformist institution. The King had other plans; at least Mather failed in this. His absence from the school had made it possible for those who were no friends of Mather to gain the balance of power on the board, so that eventually Increase Mather completely lost his hold upon the college. Later the son, Cotton, desired the executive chair at Cambridge, but John Leverett was chosen in his stead. To make matters worse, thirty-nine ministers enthusiastically endorsed the election of Leverett. This was in 1707; Cotton Mather lived and labored for more than twenty years after this, but never regained the influence or the power he had held. The "dynasty of the Mathers" had another representative who carried it on until well after the Revolution, but its dominancy in the affairs of Boston had come to an end in the early part of the century.

Boston as the Capital of a Province—The provincial period, with its ten or a dozen royal Governors, produced very few outstanding Bostonians. Or more correctly, the first half of this period developed none, since it covers the years which saw the rise of those notables who began and led the revolt which separated the English colonies of America from Great Britain. One might include Samuel Sewall, "the Pepys of the Puritans," but this famous jurist and diarist was a contemporary of Cotton Mather and survived him but two years. Possibly he was the

most typical citizen of Boston, his pen pictures of the town and its life are the clearest and best of his day. He served both town and State in many capacities, and he was a most remarkable person. But he was, after all, one of the old school, thoroughly orthodox, a believer in the retention of the ancient things, and as such must be considered with the Mathers, although in later years he was none too friendly with Cotton.

The royal Governors were undistinguished as a whole, possibly for the very good reason that the office was one of multitudinous troubles and uncertain and limited salary. It was not a happy position for a gentleman to be placed as ruler over a people who hated the character of the rule, and to receive such pay as this same people cared to give him. Not many sought the place, and those who were appointed, without exception, rued the day they began their magistracy. Some of the Governors may have been greater men than such records as we have of them seem to indicate. The provincial period was one of war, as far as the province was concerned. The strife between England and France was repeated on this side of the ocean, and expedition after expedition was sent to various parts of Canada, until the power of France was definitely and forever broken in America. Much of the war in this country was carried out under the directions of the royal Governors, some of whom were utter failures as military men; a few showed some of the essentials to leadership.

Religious and Social Changes—This was also an era of expansion for Boston, commercially and socially, and it might be added, religiously. Not only did the rise of denominations that knew not Puritanism mark the period, but within the Puritan church a new spirit had entered. There was less unanimity of opinion, differences in faith, and wide changes made in polity. Meanwhile the Episcopal, Baptist, Quaker, Presbyterian and Methodist churches had congregations in Boston, were building their separate meeting-houses, and were carrying on an active propaganda. Religion was becoming a matter of choice rather than of politics, and was the better for it. When Whitefield came with his message, he was agreeably surprised to receive a ready hearing, although somewhat disappointed in the lack of permanent results.

Social changes were going on as great as those in religion. The royal government brought a different class of folk in their train, one accustomed to social graces, to ease of living, to seeking the pleasures of life. There were many in the colony who had become prosperous, and when public opinion allowed, as it did under the governors, began to spread their wings and seek other diversions than hard work. Naturally Boston, as the capital and principal town of the province, became the center to which these came. Boston not only grew rapidly in population,

but took on metropolitan airs and provided the attractions which a metropolis must supply if it is to attract and hold those of the province and the newcomers from abroad. Business was stimulated, shops multiplied, money or its equivalent was plentiful and circulated easily. Peter Fan-euil, Huguenot merchant and public benefactor, gave to the town the hall that bears his name; there was a town house, a province house, ten church buildings, four schools and one hundred and sixty warehouses, all this in 1740. A Mr. Bennett, visiting Boston about this time, wrote a history of New England and recounted the impression gained during his travels. Of Boston society he wrote:

Boston Society in 1740—"When the ladies ride out to take the air, it is generally in a chaise or chair, and then but a single horse; and they have a negro servant to drive them. (Ten per cent of the population of Boston at this time was colored). The gentlemen ride out here as in England, some in chairs, some on horseback, with their negroes to attend them. They travel much in the same manner on business as for pleasure, and are attended in both by their black equipages. . . . For their domestic amusements, every afternoon, after drinking tea, the gentlemen and ladies walk the Mall, and from thence adjourn to one another's houses to spend the evening—those that are not disposed to attend the evening lecture, which they may do, if they please, six nights in the seven the year round." Was it at this time that Bostonians learned to place lectures among the pleasures of life, and acquired the lecture habit? Bennett, after describing how the wealthy amused themselves, goes on to note that "The Government being in the hand of the dissenters, they don't admit of plays or music-houses; but of late they have set up an assembly, to which some of the ladies resort. . . . But notwithstanding plays and such like diversions do not obtain here, they don't seem to be dispirited, nor moped for want of them, for both ladies and men dress and appear as gay, in common, as courtiers in England on a coronation or birthday." The picture drawn by Bennett gives many other details, but the portraits by Copley, Blackburn, Smibert, and Pelham hang in Boston's galleries, and give the best impressions one may receive of the characteristics of those of wealth and social position of that day. It is, of course, to be realized that the bulk of the inhabitants of the town were of the artisan and hard working sort, to whom life was a serious matter, and who frowned upon the levity of the idle, the educated and the rich.

Back of the changing social conditions was the rising tide of commerce and business which threatened to submerge both church and State. Gone were the days when the town struggled to merely keep alive. Wealth had been brought in by the early settlers, and while the stream of emigration had dwindled to a mere thread, it still brought money or the

things money could buy. As indicated, the royal governors and their satellites introduced an element which had means and tastes which required the spending of them. And one must not forget that it was the policy of the English government to make its colonies not only economically self-sufficient, but a producer of a surplus for export. If Boston failed to develop its prosperity along the lines intended by Great Britain and became wholly independent of the mother country, it is none the less true that England's "mercantile system" in its effects upon Boston did much to make it the leading town in America, the busiest and the wealthiest.

Rural Boston Becomes Urban—Boston had been the usual agricultural settlement of the pioneer years. Like the Massachusetts colony as a whole, the land had been apportioned out in small parcels, and the development of agriculture did not take the same direction as that of the "plantation" colonies to the south where broad acres made up the farm and required the introduction of a servant or slave class for their successful tilling. With a rocky soil, and unfavorable climate, and small divisions of land, the New Englander had to turn his attention to more than farming if he would gain a livelihood. He soon learned to not only grow food and cattle but to make his own clothing, furniture and tools. Some of the tillers of the soil found greater profits in the side lines, and then began specializing. Farms were often neglected, so that the owner could give his time to the more profitable trades of weaving, shoemaking, iron working, tool making, sawmilling and shipbuilding. The colonial farm was the first industrial school in Massachusetts, and by the opening of the eighteenth century had laid the foundation for the manufacturing industry. The farm was the technical school from which the skilled labor of the future was to be drawn. The conditions reacted upon Boston relatively early to make the town a manufacturing place, if the crude productions of 1700 may be called manufactures, and Boston became the center of trade, the port from which what the colony had, was sent abroad for what was needed. As the middleman, Boston became important and wealthy. The shipbuilding industry in the town started with Winthrop's building of the "Blessing of the Bay." In 1738, according to Burke, there were built at Boston "forty-one topsail vessels of 6,324 tons in all." It was the same Burke who dubbed the New England people the "Dutch of North America" for they were the carriers for all the colonies, and built their own ships to do it. Boston had sixteen "large" ship-yards in the early years of 1700, and no one knows how many small ones, all this in a place of about 15,000 people.

All this was only a part of the change and growth of Boston. The merchant marine of her own construction brought a vast variety of

saleable goods, and the merchants of the day, and they were more than shop-keepers, became an important and leader class. They financed the triangular voyages of their ships, sending the naval stores and fish to the West Indies of the Mediterranean countries; from thence with the productions of the port in which they had entered they sailed to England, where the cargo was exchanged for whatever was thought would prove desirable in Boston.

Growth of the Urbanities of Life—The natural isolation of Boston was overcome; with wider interests came a broadening of the vision, and enlargement of needs and desires. Shops multiplied on its streets, not only those handling utilities, but those which had to do with leisure, culture and education. John Dutton, who came to Massachusetts to make books, and stayed to write them, found little competition in his business. Had he delayed his trip until the early seventeen hundreds, he would have found not only there were book stores in number, but printing plants making books and newspapers. There is even a "public library" mentioned, although what it was and where is not known. To quote excerpts from another visitor, Bennett, of 1739, "At the bottom of the bay there is a fine wharf about half a mile in length, on the north side of which are built many warehouses for the storing of merchants' goods; this is called Long Wharf. . . . From the east of Long Wharf the buildings rise gradually in an easy ascent westward about a mile. There are a great many good houses and fine streets, little inferior to the best in London, the principal of which is King's. . . . And there are likewise walks for merchants, where they meet every day at five o'clock in imitation of the Royal Exchange. Round this there are several book sellers shops, and four or five printing houses. . . . This town was not built after a regular plan, but has been enlarged from time to time as the inhabitants increased; and is now from north to south, something more than two miles in length, and in the widest part about one mile and a half in breadth. . . . There are sixty streets, forty-one lanes, and eighteen alleys, besides courts, squares, etc."

Boston had evidently become quite a town during the early years of the royal governors. The changes and growth had been more than physical. The growth of commerce and the extension of the market of the town had broken down its isolation and self-content. Bostonians were becoming acquainted with the world, and were showing an increased taste for the things of the world. The Puritan religion prevailed in the traditions and customs of the citizens, but it was no longer the predominating influence in their lives. Two strains of life had been combined in the birth of Boston, the religious and the commercial. For sixty years religion had throbbed through the veins of the town with diminishing

vigor but with dominant force; for the next sixty years commerce became increasingly in control and despite all its Puritan exterior in the middle of the eighteenth century, Boston was really a shop-keeper eager for expansion and resentful and rebellious against limitations of control. The traditions of the elders were being steadily left behind, business and politics were the fields of mental activity and interest replacing theology. Already there were signs of the rebellion which was to transfer the rule from the crown to the State. Near the close of the century, Revolt had lifted its head in resistance to Andros and his government. It was not religion which was the mainspring of the uprising that imprisoned this representative of the King; it was fear of impoverishment, or, at least, of a reduction of the prosperity which the colony was enjoying. Andros interfered with the Puritan church, but it was when he threw all land titles in the discard by one of his legal rulings, and planned to tax and restrain commerce, that the people arose in wrath and cast him out. The constant bickerings which characterized the rule of the royal governors were inspired as much by a desire to grow unrestrainedly along commercial and business lines, as for the assurance of religious, or perhaps, civil liberty. The times had changed and men wanted freedom to do as they pleased in contradistinction to freedom of worship.

The Pre-Revolutionary Period—The history of old Boston reached its apogee in pre-Revolutionary times, if we include under this term the fifteen years which preceded the outbreak of actual warfare. The town had gone ahead with its affairs in spite of a series of governors whose interests had become more and more opposed to those of the place. War with the French in Canada had been brought to a successful conclusion, and much of the honor of the struggle had come to Boston. But now the bill was to be presented to the very folk who had done their full share in saving a vast domain for England. Boston felt that it had already paid enough, and wanted greatly to be left alone to attend to its own affairs. Great Britain, somewhat impoverished by war, thought it was time for her growing son to contribute to the support of his mother. By restrictive laws touching commerce, by direct taxes, by the sending of troops to be quartered upon the towns of America, England sought to recuperate her losses and repress the self-sufficiency and independence of her largest colony. The prolonged war resulting from the violent meeting of the two opposed ideals is a matter of National history; its local history has been outlined elsewhere at length.

The Boston leaders who came to the fore during this period of strife can hardly be written about too often. They were the fruition of seeds long planted, and indicate the growth of ideas and ideals in our country as events did not. They were in truth, the representative men of their

day; particularly in their weaknesses, their idiosyncrasies, and their failures do they stand for the stage of development which Boston and the colonies had reached. Consider just a few of "Boston's Immortals," Samuel Adams, James Otis, John Adams, Joseph Warre, John Hancock, Paul Revere the silversmith, and John Singleton Copley, artist; what a gallery these make in the halls of fame! Then there are those whose names are seldom mentioned, the men of wealth and ability who sided with their King and left Boston in sorrow during the Revolution. The contrast between the town of 1775 and that of 1776, when its population was reduced by more than a half, is evidence as much of the number of loyalists who had lived here as of the number of its patriots enlisted in colonial armies.

James Otis—James Otis was one of the lawyers of Boston, of whom there were few because the law was not an attractive profession while Massachusetts was a royal province. In 1761, he was the advocate general of the province until it became his duty to defend a government case under the Writs of Assistance which enabled customs officers to search the homes of suspected smugglers. He resigned, and came in court as the representative of the persons endeavoring to prove that the stand of the government was illegal. His speech on this occasion, a marvel of research and oratory, initiated a new order of belief and action against the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. As John Adams said, "Then and there the child Independence was born." His too brief career as a patriotic leader began on that day, but he took the lawyer's stand on many questions, which sometimes was on the side of the government, which did not add to his popularity. Yet in spite of this, he was looked up to by the men of his day, and swayed the multitude by his oratory as few could. To him was given the privilege of uttering the first great war cry "no taxation without representation." Attacked by a political enemy, Captain Robinson, his brilliant but unstable mind was all but wrecked, and from 1769, his life was spent in practical retirement. Was it a time of a return of mind and spirit when he borrowed a gun and took his place with the Americans in the battle of Bunker Hill?

Samuel Adams—Samuel Adams, "Father of the Revolution," one of the principal leaders in the events which preceded the Revolution, as well as a prominent member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1781, continued in public service for the whole term of his long and influential life. Although always a national character, he was a Bostonian of the Bostonians. His biographer, Dr. James K. Hosmer, wrote of him:

"Of this town of towns, Samuel Adams was the son of sons. He was strangely identified with it always. He was trained in Boston schools, and Harvard College. He never left the town except on the town's er-

rands, or those of the Province of which he was its head. He had no private business after the first year of his manhood; he was the public servant simply and solely in places large and small, fire-ward, committee to see that chimneys were safe, tea collector, moderator of town meetings, representative. One may almost call him the creature of the town-meeting." Adams seems always to be a central figure of any event in which he had a part. Two British regiments had been quartered in the town for some time. Trouble between the townspeople and these troops came to a head on the evening of March 5, 1770. The people were fired upon and three were killed and eight wounded. This was the famous Boston Massacre. The next day the citizens went to see Governor Hutchinson asking that the soldiers be moved out of town. The Governor pleaded that he had no authority to remove the regiment. In the face of a formal committee of fifteen, he persisted in his stand, but unfortunately for his position, the senior officer then in Boston said one of the regiments could be shifted if Hutchinson desired it. To continue the picture as drawn by Howe in his history of Boston: This was the message which the committee was empowered to convey to the anxious town-meeting. So great had been the throng that had come to Faneuil Hall, that it was inadequate and an adjournment to the Old South Meeting-house had taken place. It was a short walk, then, that the committee had to take—from the head of King (now State) Street to the head of Milk Street. But it was a walk which Samuel Adams turned to momentous account. Hat in hand he passed, with his fellows, between the double row of townspeople overflowing from the meeting-house into the streets. Right and left as he walked, he turned to the eager citizens, and said, and said again, "Both regiments or none!" For the purpose of the day, it was as good a phrase as any that Otis ever coined for the currency of speech. Once within the Old South, the committee delivered its message: one regiment might go to the Castle in the harbor if the magistrates must have it so. But from all the people crowding the floor, stairways, doors and galleries, rolled back the words of Adams, "Both regiments or none!" This was the simple reply which the committee of seven, now chosen, had to bear back to the Lieutenant-Governor, his august councillors, and the military authorities. It was only fitting that Sam Adams, having framed in the street the answer which the town-meeting gave in the meeting-house, should deliver it in the council chamber. And so he did—in the plainest terms. "If you, or Colonel Dalrymple under you," he addressed himself to Hutchinson, "have the power to remove one regiment, you have the power to remove both; and nothing short of their total removal will satisfy the people or preserve the peace of the Province." With such argument as this he convinced all but Hutchinson. At last the sturdy Loyalist himself, persuaded by his

secretary, Andrew Oliver, that further resistance was futile, yielded the point, and both regiments were ordered to the Castle. Thus it was that the 14th and 29th regiments of his Majesty's forces won from the lips of Lord North himself the memorable nickname of the "Sam Adams Regiments." By this title they are still known in local history. In the annals of the British Army, the 14th, with a record extending from the siege of Gibraltar and Culloden, through Corunna, Waterloo, and the Crimea down to South Africa, is now the "Prince of Wales' Own"; the 29th, which fought at Ramillies, in the Peninsular campaign, and against the Boers, has become the "Worcestershire." The name of Sam Adams does not happen to appear in the army list in connection with either regiment.

The energy and power of one man in turning the tragedy of the "Massacre" so quickly into a victory for the people are worthy of all admiration.

Delegates to the Continental Congress—The "energy and power" which Adams put into his efforts to bring about the independence of the American colonies is remarkable, when it is realized that he was none too strong physically, and never blessed with sufficient means to live comfortably, although his very poverty was evidence of his lack of self-seeking, and one of the sources of his popularity with the working classes. He had an unacceptable message to carry when he was sent with Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, and John Adams, to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774, for he was probably the only one in all that assembly who stood for the complete emancipation of the colonies. He was very tactful about it all, for he knew that the members had been warned that the four were "desperate adventurers" and that he, Samuel Adams, was "a very artful designing man, most desperately poor and wholly dependent upon his popularity with the lowest vulgar for his living." Independence was about as popular with the aristocratic southern members of the Congress as was Adams and his three colleagues. All four were very diplomatic and self-effacing, however, and Samuel made a stroke of genius by suggesting that, rather than not have the session opened without prayer, when this was opposed by Mr. Jay of New York and Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina on the plea that the differences of religious opinion were too great for all to join in the same act of worship, that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, should read prayers. As John Adams tells the story: "Accordingly, the next morning, he appeared in his pontificals and read . . . the thirty-fifth Psalm (Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me; fight against them that fight against me . . .). You must remember this was the morning next after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I

never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed that Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning. Then Mr. Duché burst into extemporary prayer for America, for Congress, for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston." And, concludes John Adams, "It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here." One of its excellent effects was the placing of both the Adamses on the committee appointed for the investigation of the rights of the colonies which had been infringed, and the best means of securing redress.

One is tempted to relate many things about this Boston patriot. His work for his country was never ended; to his State, when Massachusetts became a State, he came to its aid in a crisis as its Governor. Upon his death, October 2, 1803, the day was made the occasion of national mourning. On June 5, 1776, a resolution was introduced in the Continental Congress, that the colonies declare themselves free and independent States. Debate began three days later. Samuel Adams worked untiringly, and the successful passing of the measure has been credited to the "timely remarks" of Adams; and that by one long speech, characterized by Elbridge Gerry as Samuel Adams' ablest effort, three wavering members were finally convinced that "Independence must be attained. So Zealously did the Man of the Town Meeting work, during the three weeks interval allowed in order that hesitating delegates might consult their constituents, that, when the measure was again taken up, on the first days of July, there was no longer a dissenting voice." If any man had a right to be proud and let that pride show in his acts and letters, Samuel Adams was that man. Yet the note he indited to his friend in Boston, John Pitts, has in it not one phrase of personal pride. It simply was a letter of quiet happiness that a decision had been made, closing with "I hope our affairs will now wear a more agreeable aspect than they have of late, S. A."

John Adams—John Adams and John Hancock, both under forty at the outbreak of the Revolution, were intimate friends and co-workers in the stirring days before the actual break. John Adams was the son of a farmer, taught school for awhile at Worcester, studied law, and soon rose high in legal circles. John Hancock, after completing his education, went into business with his uncle, Thomas Hancock, at Boston, inheriting the estate upon his uncle's death in 1764. The two men were very much unlike in station and character, but worked well together, each somehow being a complement of the other. Adams was less of the showman but reached greater heights in public life; Hancock knew how to dramatize himself, and was always in the public eye. Adams wielded a fruitful pen, many of his later writings having more than simply a historical

value even today. But, as some one has said, if Adams held the pen, Hancock cut the quills.

John Adams, with his judicial temperament, was eminently fitted for leadership in a time when level heads were at a premium. He defended, with Josiah Quincy, Jr., the offending soldiers of the Boston Massacre. He had been counsel for Boston in the opposition to the Stamp Act. When, in 1770, he moved to Boston, he was elected to the General Court of Massachusetts, and from this time on spent thirty years in the service of his State and country. A member of the Provincial and Continental Congresses, he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, but there is no record of his making any remarks such as that of Hancock at this time, who wrote his signature at the head of the list in a bold, dashing style, "that George the Third might read it without spectacles." George seems never to have interested himself in the document, and to those of the present generation who make the pilgrimage to Washington to see the famous parchment, it is somewhat of a disappointment to find that of all the many signatures to the Declaration, only that of Hancock's and one other are still visible. John Adams went to France, Holland and England on diplomatic errands for this country; he was Vice-President of the United States, and succeeded Washington as the chief magistrate of the Nation, serving from 1797 to 1801. The administration of John Adams was torn with fierce dissensions which estranged him from the political leaders of New England, and at the end of his term he retired into private life. He died on July 4, 1826, after having survived nearly all of his associates of the Revolution.

John Hancock—There was so much of the bizarre about the career of John Hancock that the temptation is great to repeat many of the tales told concerning him. Just two analyses of his character and career will be mentioned. One was written by Mrs. Mercy Warren, the favorite sister of James Otis, who should know whereof she wrote. Her impression was that, "Mr. Hancock was a young gentleman of fortune, of more external accomplishments than real abilities. He was polite in manners, easy in address, affable, civil and liberal. With these accomplishments he was capricious, sanguine and implacable; naturally generous, he was profuse in expense; he scattered largesses without discretion, and purchased favors by the waste of wealth, until he reached the ultimatum of his wishes, which centered in the focus of popular applause. He enlisted early in the cause of his country, at the instigation of some gentlemen of penetration, who thought his ample fortune might give consideration while his fickleness could not injure, so long as he was under the influence of men of superior judgment. They complimented

him by nominations to committees of importance, till he plunged too far to recede; and flattered by ideas of his own consequence, he had taken a decided part before the battle of Lexington, and was president of the Provincial Congress when that event took place."

A more modern estimate of John Hancock is that made by Henry Cabot Lodge in his chapter in the "Memorial History": "There have been but few men in history who have achieved so much fame, and whose names are so familiar, who at the time really did so little and left so slight a trace of personal influence upon the times in which they lived as John Hancock. He was valuable chiefly from his picturesqueness. Everything about him is picturesque, from his bold, handsome signature, which gave him an assured immortality, to his fine house which appears in the pictures of the day as the 'Seat of His Excellency, John Hancock.' His position, wealth, and name made him valuable to the real movers of the Revolution, when men of his stamp were almost without exception on the side of the Crown; and it was this which made such a man as Sam Adams cling to and advance him, and which gave him a factitious importance. Hancock was far from greatness; indeed, it is to be feared that he was not much removed from being 'the empty barrel,' which is the epithet, tradition says, that the outspoken John Adams applied to him. And yet he had real value after all. He was the Alcibiades, in a certain way, of the rebellious little Puritan town; and his display and gorgeousness no doubt gratified the sober, hard-headed community which put him at its head and kept him there. He stands out with a fine show of lace and velvet and dramatic gout, a real aristocrat, shining and resplendent against the cold gray background of every-day life in the Boston of the days after the Revolution, when the gay official society of the province had been swept away. At the side of his house he built a dining hall, where he could assemble fifty or sixty guests; and when his company was gathered he would be borne or wheeled in, and with easy grace delight every one by his talk and finished manners. In society his pettiness, peevishness, and narrowness would vanish and his true value as a brilliant and picturesque figure would come out. His death was but one of the incidents which, as the old century hastened to its close, marked the change which had fairly come." John Hancock died October 8, 1793, while serving his eleventh year as Governor of Massachusetts.

Paul Revere—Paul Revere, of Huguenot descent, a "jack of all trades" and seemingly master of them all, was born the same year, 1735, as John Adams, with whom he was closely associated in the pre-Revolutionary events about Boston. When scarcely twenty he was commissioned a



VIEW FROM CHAUNCEY STREET, BOSTON, NOVEMBER 22, 1872



second lieutenant in the expedition against the French at Crown Point. He early took sides with the lovers of liberty and contributed to their support, and incidentally to his own, with a series of engraved political cartoons, or caricatures, which are still treasured. As the rebellious spirit of New England sought expression in organizations, Revere was a favorite for membership on these committees. He was also a prime mover in the formation of clubs among the artisans of the town, such as the "Sons of Liberty," the "Caucus Club" and others. It was as the Messenger of the Revolution that his fame has come down to the present generation, but the "Ride of Paul Revere," celebrated by Longfellow, was not the first time he acted in this capacity. When the "Mohawks" staged the Boston Tea Party it was Paul Revere who carried the news hot-foot to New York and Philadelphia. Throughout the war he gave efficient service to the patriotic cause, and is credited with being one of the deciding although indirect influences which brought Samuel Adams over to the side of the Federal Constitution, which hung in the balance in 1789. Revere, as the representative of the Boston mechanics, told Adams of the enthusiasm of his fellows for the federal scheme. Adams listened and came over to the winning side. Paul Revere was the first president of the Massachusetts Mechanics' Association from 1794 to 1797, and Masons like to recall that he was the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts during these same years. He died at Boston, May 10, 1818.

Other Boston Patriots—There are other Bostonians of the Revolutionary days who were well capable of ranking along side of those already named, even if they played less conspicuous parts. Joseph Warren, the physician, filled many offices of trust. Made a major-general on June 14, 1775, three days later he was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill. Josiah Quincy stood at the bar with Adams in the unpopular defense of the British soldiers accused of the Boston Massacre. He also fell at the threshold of the bloody conflict; his son Josiah was a president of Harvard and the first of three of the family name to be mayors of Boston. Then there was Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine, gentlemen both, and delegates to the Continental Congress from Massachusetts. Cushing was for years the Speaker of the Massachusetts House; Paine was a learned judge, a trenchant writer. William Tudor, eminent at the bar, served with distinction in the army. James Bowdoin, with a reputation on both sides of the Atlantic for science and learning, had the courage to accept the Governorship during the Shays' Rebellion, when John Hancock had one of his convenient gouty spells. Nor should we forget the artist, John Singleton Copley, to whose skilled hand Boston owes

much of her knowledge of the appearance and position of the Boston folk and times.

Loyalist Notables—There were “giants in those days,” heroic figures quite the admiration of the historically inclined, even when the halo of patriotism is left unobserved. The Boston of the Revolution was forced by the events which preceded it into bloom, and the flowers of Puritanism as produced then are still a marvel to those who think of Puritanism as a barren plant, or one which could send forth little that was admirable. Nor must it be thought that the great ones of that period were only those who shone among the patriots. The storm of obloquy which fell upon those who favored the English crown, has quite overshadowed those who have a right to the admiration of the Bostonian. Thomas Hutchinson, last of the provincial Governors, had many unamiable characteristics, but he was both learned and able in law, and his “History of Massachusetts” is written in so impartial a style as to still be one of the best of our sources of the early history of the Commonwealth. What of Jonathan Sewell, attorney-general of Massachusetts; Andrew Oliver, Lieutenant-Governor, and others of less official standing but contributing the intellectual and social life of Boston before the exodus of the Loyalists after the declaration of war. Sabine, in his “American Loyalists,” estimates that 2,000 of the adherents of the King left Massachusetts at this time, and figures that of three hundred and ten banished from the State, more than sixty were Harvard graduates. John Adams believed that one-third of the citizens of the colonies at large favored the Crown. “The last contest in the town of Boston, in 1775, between the Whigs and Tories, was decided by five against two.”

Boston's Descent From the Heights—In 1774 Boston, as has been emphasized, was the great town of the colonies; this in spite of the fact that it had been exceeded in population by some others. It was the brain and the mouth of the revolt, as it was the center of the northern aristocracy of wealth and culture. Its higher life, as well as the commercial, had reached great heights. The all but complete collapse of the town in much that was best was not due simply to a loss of population, but to the sort of people that had departed. The constant accession of those of means and culture from the province was for the most part loyal to the King, and upon the lifting of the siege were dispersed, the most of the Tories going to Canada and from thence abroad. Even the higher lights among the patriots were scattered over the colonies, and for the greater part engaged in the business of the Nation. Many of these never returned to their native town, and the eminence of Boston had to be rebuilt upon such remnants as remained, with the material which again

came to Boston to occupy the places of those who had been driven out, or chose other sections for their homes.

Fortunately, as Lodge has pointed out, there was a country aristocracy to fill in the great gaps the war had made. "The new men, of course, came; and equally, of course, they were the leaders of a successful Revolution. They were not, however, as commonly happens in such cases, drawn from the class immediately below that which was overthrown. The country aristocracy, the squires and gentry of the small towns, unlike their brethren of the capital, had been, as a rule, on the side of resistance to England, and had furnished the most of the Revolutionary leaders. When their battle was won many of them came up from their counties and settled in Boston, occupying the places of their banished opponents, and not infrequently by cheap purchases becoming possessors of the confiscated homes of the exiles. To this class, which to borrow a very famous name, may be not inaptly styled the Country Party, belonged, for example, the Adamses and Fisher Ames from Norfolk, the Prescotts from Middlesex, and the Sullivans from New Hampshire; while from Essex, the most prolific of them all came the Parsonses, Pickerings, Lees, Jacksons, Cabots, Lowells, Grays and Elbridge Gerry."

Mr. Lodge was writing of politics when he indited the above, but it shows the manner in which the post-Revolutionary development was accomplished. In 1776, the population of Boston is given as 2,719 (it had numbered about 15,000 a few years earlier). Commerce had been wrecked, and shipbuilding, the principal industry with it. While the destruction of the material things of the town by the beleaguered British had been comparatively small, there were few to renew and replace what was gone, and seemingly fewer who had the heart to take up the task of rebuilding. Although the war passed on after the raising of the siege, and never returned to Boston during the next half dozen years, there were but few signs of recuperation, except along mercantile lines, and in these only because the few that had means, as is usual in war times, were spending them lavishly, and those who had little were imitating the wealthy. "King Hancock" as the Tories styled John of the name, appeared "in public with all the pageantry and state of an Oriental prince. . . . He is attended by four servants dressed in superb livery, mounted on horses richly caparisoned; and escorted by fifty horsemen with drawn swords." But another observer in this same year, 1780, wrote: "Boston affords nothing new but complaints upon complaints, I have been credibly informed that a person who used to live well has been obliged to take the feathers out of his bed and sell them to an upholsterer to get money to buy bread. Many doubtless are exceedingly distressed; but yet, such is the infatuation of the day that the rich, regardless of the necessities of the poor, are more luxurious and ex-

travagant than formerly. Boston exceeds even Tyre; for not only are her merchants princes, but even her tavern keepers are gentlemen! There can be no surer sign of a decay of morals than the tavern keepers growing rich fast."

The Rebirth of the City—Boston is close upon the day when she can celebrate her ter-centenary. Three hundred years of history will come up for review, and few will stop to recall that after half of these three centuries rolled on their way, Boston was a disconsolate settlement of only 2,700, and had to begin its life anew. To Boston, the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the new, marked the beginnings or the rebirth of many of the things which are distinctive of the present city. There was a renewal of immigration, and it was not long before Boston received the first comers from Ireland of the race which was to predominate in the later population of the city. Before this, however, a new class of business men and novel industries were to take the place of the old. Shipbuilding was to more than hold its own, and reach its apogee in the clipper ship. There was to rise a remarkable group of ship-owning merchants, who were to lay the foundations of many of the fortunes which still continue. But manufacturing was to take a seat above all these. During the Revolution, and more especially while the War of 1812 was on, Boston, and the whole of America was to learn the disadvantages of depending upon others rather than upon themselves for what they needed in the way of manufactures. In 1790 Slater set up from memory, some English spinning machinery. In 1814 Lowell introduced the power loom at Waltham, backed by Boston capitalists, and it was Boston capital which planned and carried through the building of an industrial city at Lowell on the Merrimac. Woolens somewhat slowly followed the manufacture of cotton textiles. Boston was exporting shoes by the thousands of pairs by 1810. Boston became, not so much the seat of manufacturing, as the center from which factories were established, and the great middleman who handled and shipped the products. Improved transportation dates from this early part of the century. A canal through Middlesex County from Lowell to Boston was one of the endeavors to break down the isolation of the town. The whole world lay before its harbor, but the country bordering it to the west and south was all but inaccessible. Hence we have the turnpike fever which raged until there was quite a network of reasonably good roads connecting Boston with her neighbors. Gridley Bryant built, in 1826, the first railroad in America. It was from Quincy to Charlestown, and constructed to haul granite to be used in the erection of the Bunker Hill Monument. The railroads which were to make Boston a future rail center were inaugurated within a decade. The Bank of North America

established a branch in Boston, in 1782, and the first of the banks which have come down to modern times was the Massachusetts Bank of 1784. Once the conflict of 1812 was well passed there began a period of expansion in finance and business from which many of the present financial and business institutions date their rise. Commerce was still the life blood of Boston's prosperity and supplied the wealth that was now poured out in the business, transportation and manufacturing schemes of the day. The town, after a somewhat stationary period, began to grow by leaps and bounds. In 1790 the population was 18,320; by 1810, 33,787; by 1830, 61,392. Meanwhile, having found its form of government unsuited to its size, in 1822 it became a city.

The "Transition Period"—Historians call this era in Boston's affairs "The Transition period," a title which characterizes it well. Boston was remade, almost reborn, during these decades. The changes in the higher interests of the city were as marked as those in finance and business. And the differences, the advancements in wealth-production reacted upon religion, education, and charity. Boston was still Puritan in many of its religious practices, but revolt had been in the air for some time, and eventuated in what has been called "The Boston Religion," although the word Unitarian conveys the idea better to the present-day citizen. Education, from being a part-time period of semi-religious study for boys, took on some of the character of the modern public-school system. While Boston was always notable for her care of the needy, few of her charitable institutions are much more than a century old. With the increase of wealth and population there came to the fore a remarkable number of those who looked beyond personal aggrandizement, and gave of their time and means to seek out the needs of their fellows and of the city, and do what they could to supply them. The reputation which Boston bears for public spirit and private munificence is an inheritance from the so-called transition period.

Some Important Dates—For those who are interested in dates, and not enough so to look through other chapters to find them, some may be given here. Unitarianism had its first outright exponent in James Freeman, who lacking ordination from the church he asked, was handed a Bible with appropriate words by members of his King's Chapel congregation, in 1787, and thus became the first professedly Unitarian minister in America. In 1820, a decision in the test case of the Dedham Parish, practically established the legal status of the denomination; in 1833 the Massachusetts law formally separated the functions of the church and town, thus disestablishing the Puritan church, although this had really been accomplished many years earlier. It is claimed that even in 1800, the clergy were nearly all unorthodox in faith, whatever they

might be in polity. If one would like to know when the first of the many philanthropic institutions of Boston was founded, it is the "Scot's Charitable Society" of 1657, which was revived in 1684. The Quarterly Charity Lecture was started by Cotton Mather on March 6, 1720, and was the first of the numerous funds founded for the aid of the poor, irrespective of class.

The Massachusetts General Hospital is the earliest establishment of that description, being incorporated in 1811. A branch of this, an insane asylum, was set up in Somerville in 1818. Of the later more important institutions in this class, their names and dates of establishment are: Eye and Ear Infirmary, 1824; Institution of the Blind, 1829; Lying-in Hospital, 1832; nearly all the vast remainder date from just before Civil War times and later. It must not be forgotten that at the Massachusetts General Hospital the success of the discovery of the anaesthetic properties of ether were first established and publicly demonstrated to the world. The monument in the Public Gardens to William Thomas Green Morton is that of the man usually remembered in connection with this remarkable advance in medicine, but there is a second, a Boston physician, Charles T. Jackson, who is claimant for equal honors. Certainly for the benefits, the relief of suffering brought to mankind by the discovery, there is gratitude enough for both. All this was in 1846, September 30 and August 16—the first major operation under ether being performed by Doctor John C. Warren on this latter date. Quite as interesting and even more courageous was the vaccination against smallpox of four of his children by Dr. Waterhouse in 1802. The doctor desired to try it on himself, but his friends thought him too valuable to the community to risk the loss of his services if death followed in the train of this new thing.

The Academic Influence of Harvard—Howe draws attention to the fact that Harvard College made its academic influence felt in Boston throughout all stages of its history, and mentions the Massachusetts Historical Society, incorporated in 1794, as one of the evidences of this. It is the oldest historical society in the United States, and according to its own explanation of the reason for its being, "it had its origin in the new life inspired by the adoption of the National Constitution." The chief founder was Rev. Jeremy Belknap, minister of the Federal Street Meeting-house, and author of a history of New Hampshire. With him were associated "four other students of early American history, all of them under fifty." The Reverend John Eliot, minister of the New North Church; the Reverend Peter Thacher of the Brattle Street Church; William Tudor, a lawyer of note; and James Winthrop, of Cambridge. These four invited and received in the organization the coöperation of

five other historical scholars: the Reverend James Freeman, of King's Chapel; James Sullivan, later Governor of the Commonwealth; Thomas Wallcut, the antiquary; William Baylies, a well-known physician, and George Richards Minot, author of several historical works. The service which the society has rendered in the preservation and making accessible New England historical materials has been invaluable.

The Boston Athenaeum might also be said to have grown out of the academic influences of Harvard. It was incorporated February 13, 1807, before public libraries, as we know them, had been thought of, and when free art galleries were things far in the future. Although a private institution, it was both library and art gallery, and the pioneer of both in Boston. Back of it, was the old Anthology Club, taking its name from a monthly periodical which, in 1804, came into the hands of a set of young intellectuals who were prominent in the ministry, law, medicine and scholarship. The ten volumes issued by the club are described by the historian of the Boston Athenaeum as "constituting one of the most lasting and honorable monuments of the taste and literature of the period. Its labors may be considered as a true revival of polite learning in this country, after that decay and neglect which resulted from the distractions of the Revolutionary War, and so forming an epoch in the intellectual history of the United States." The reference made to the Athenaeum as the fore-runner of the free public library must not be interpreted to mean that Boston was without libraries until 1807. On the contrary, mention has been made earlier in this chapter of one referred to in the will of Robert Keayne dated 1653. Winsor estimates that in 1776 there were at least twenty-nine collections of books, "fairly called in some sort public ones," in the colonies, but that they contained in whole less than fifty thousand volumes. The Massachusetts Historical Society was a kind of library organization; the Social Law Library dates from 1804. But the Athenaeum stands out as the principal of the proprietary libraries, one more of the modern type, and soon the largest. By 1820, when the Boston Mercantile Library was established, the first of its class, the Athenaeum had nearly twenty thousand volumes on its shelves.

Art and Music—The fine arts could hardly be expected to thrive in a Puritan society which frowned upon graven images or "likenesses," but in the years of provincial government, particularly the later ones of prosperity, Boston blossomed feebly but vividly as an art center. John Smybert arrived in 1728, well recommended to society, and limned some of the memorials we have of the early fathers, their wives and their daughters. From then through to the Revolution, there was Blackburn, who painted half a hundred portraits, and departed in 1765 to be more than

replaced by the Copley of whom something has already been written in this chapter. The other notable artist of that period was Gilbert Stuart, born in Rhode Island in 1755, and who closed a remarkable career with his death in Boston in 1828. Two years before Stuart's demise, the first art gallery in Boston was conducted by the Athenaeum when it opened an artist's room, and began the giving of annual exhibitions. Music, except the singing of psalms, met with little more favor in Puritan Boston than did art. Nevertheless, the first important step in musical progress was taken by an organization formed in the Park Street Church, of Puritan traditions. Church music had been somewhat varied and more attractive after the Revolution, and church choirs were the main outlet for the musically inclined. The Park Street Church had a most excellent choir of fifty voices. The celebration which marked the conclusion of the War of 1812 was featured by the rendition of an Oratorio by a large chorus. It was this chorus joined with the choir which made up the Handel and Haydn Society of 1815.

Of the landmarks, social and other, of Boston the city, other chapters than this must tell. There is the story of transportation which is a tale of constant change. A height is no sooner reached in Boston's ways of travel than there is the descent into the valley out of which, by long hard climbing, another summit is attained. Perhaps the most romantic page in Boston's history is that of the day when a forest of masts filled the harbor, and the clipper ships were making records still unsurpassed by sails. It was the age of the wooden ship, but there was a new epoch about to begin, for in the late 1830's, iron was to take the place held by wood, and steam shove canvas in the background.

The Romance of Transportation—Boston profited by this for a time. New York was the first to greet the first line of steam packets, but Boston quickly came to the fore and persuaded Mr. Cunard to make the city the American destination of his mail-carrying steamers. In this it was successful, and for a few years held the early supremacy over the other ports in this country as the destination of transatlantic steamers. Lindbergh received no more enthusiastic welcome when he made his triumphal entry into Paris in his airplane, than the city of Boston gave to the first of the Cunarders. One of the odd incidents of this time was the freezing over of the harbor in 1844, preventing the advertised sailing of the "Britannia." The New York papers poked all manner of fun at Boston, and drew comparisons of the two ports decidedly unfavorable to Boston. But the Yankee spirit was not downed by such a calamity as a foot of ice. A channel was cut for ten miles out toward open water. People gathered from far and near to see the curious spectacle of a harbor covered with little houses, skaters, workmen and even horses and sleighs, while a road

was being opened for a great ship. On February 3, thousands gathered along a lane of open water to clear the departure of the slow steaming "Britannia."

The advent of metal vessels sent the ship-building industry down into depths from which it never found its way out. Even the priority in the matter of establishment of steamship lines failed to keep Boston at its peak in ocean shipping. Writing of the time when the first Cunarder came, Mr. Hill remarked "that the trains starting from Boston then reached their limits respectively at Newburyport, Exeter, Nashua, Springfield, Stonington, and New Bedford." Of western feeders for the port of Boston, there were none. Boston capital built great rail systems in the West, but thereby aided the development of other ports than home. By 1868 the Cunard Company transferred all its mail steamers to New York, and even the freighters which loaded at Boston went on their way only after completing their loads in New York. Meanwhile the East India commerce had fallen from its high estate. From this depression Boston has climbed, even though it has failed to overtake New York. Railroads have long since been connected with those of the West, and it is but a matter of time when the advantages of Boston as the nearest large port to Europe will be grasped, and the present large volume of exports and imports be greatly increased.

The Benefactions of Merchant Princes—Upon the social structure of the city, transportation has wrought great changes. From the inside, it, or the commerce which it produced, has given the city a community of merchants or "merchant princes," broadened by their contact with the peoples and products of all the world, who have given a new flavor to the life of the city. A Puritan voyaging to India or China, in his youth, there to make his way when most impressionable, must on his return in maturity play an important rôle in the affairs of the home town. Many of the best of the altruistic institutions or "foundations" of Boston were established by these merchants, such as the Perkins Institute for the Blind, a Parkman Professorship, a Bromfield, and a dozen others. It stirs the imagination simply to see the portrait of John Lowell in his great turban, with an oriental tower ranged in the background. He died March 4, 1836, at Bombay, India, when only thirty-four. By his will, he gave half of his large property for the support of public lectures for the benefit of Boston's citizens. Abbott Lawrence, "merchant prince" and many-sided man, gave great sums to establish professorships in Harvard, as well as to schools elsewhere. Or going farther back, Peter Faneuil was in the foreign trade, and was as Thomas Hancock said, the "topmost merchant in all the town." To him Boston owed its first market place and the "Cradle of Liberty." Howe sums up the situation when he says:

"To bring silks and spices from over seas, to win the fight with pirates, to open a frozen harbor to early steamships, . . . all these are fine, brave things. Yet it is more to make your native town the richer by the spirit which has triumphed over such difficulties and by the fruits of that spirit. This is what the merchants of Boston have done."

All this is going beyond the limits of this one article. More important than the effect transportation and commerce have had upon the mind and spirit of the city are the peaks to which these had risen in times of stress. For example there was the rise of new and broader religions, when any of them failed to be expansive enough to retain growing ideas. Boston became catholic enough to have room for discoverers or preachers of unique faiths; have we not the Emmanuel Movement started by Reverend Elwood Worcester in 1906, and the Christian Science Church founded by Mrs. Baker Eddy? Boston has been very fertile in religious ideas, ideals and organizations.

Reform Movements—Then there was the rise of reform movements which have shaped local and national legislation, and contributed to the settlement of problems that troubled the whole country. Witness the unexpected attitude of Boston towards the slavery question. The city was one of those closest associated with the business and the people of the South. Southerners not only visited the metropolis of New England often, but came to leave their sons in Harvard, to sell their cotton at the textile center of the North, to spend money and to borrow it. They could not conceive of the "Hub" becoming unsympathetic with Southern and slavery ideas; for that matter neither could the average citizen of the city. When Garrison set up the "Liberator" and dinned his abolition doctrine into the unwilling ears of the Bostonians, they grew weary and mobbed him. This "Garrison mob" was one of the darkest blots on the pages of Boston history, for it was a mob made up of "gentlemen of property and standing." Fortunately the mayor was able to smuggle Garrison into jail and prevented a worse stain. But the sense of fair play which has marked much of Boston's later history brought about a hearing of the anti-slavery preachments. The very persecution of Garrison won for his cause more adherents than did all the years of the "Liberator" preceding. When negro fugitives were arrested in the city, sympathy and determination were added to fair play, and the pro-slavery Boston of the early 1830's became abolitionist in sentiment, and after Sumter fell, Governor Andrew found a united city to follow his lead in all war measures. The full flower of the movement begun by Garrison three decades before, was seen the day when Robert Gould Shaw marched from the city at the head of the 54th Regiment of Massachusetts, "colored," the first of all negro regiments raised in the North.

The "Forty Immortals"—Although the intent of this chapter has been to indicate some of the social landmarks in the early career of Boston, and to mark for attention a few of the representative men of their times, it seems but fitting to add the names of some of the notables who have given distinction to the city since it forsook the status of a town. Any list of such must fail of completeness, and the deliberate limiting of the number will leave out many whose lives rank with the highest. For the sake of brevity thumb nail sketches will follow of men whom a recent brochure lists among the "forty of Boston's Immortals." This work was issued by the State Street Trust Company of Boston, which has published so many interesting and valuable historical brochures. The selection of the forty who were deemed to merit a place in a Boston Hall of Fame are the result of a consensus of opinion and the men named are those "who have spent the greater part of their lives in Boston or Greater Boston, or have accomplished their work here." For the most of the data for the sketches which follow the author is indebted to the above mentioned brochure, than which there is no better condensed set of biographies of Boston's leading men of the nearly three centuries of her existence. About half of these forty "Immortals" have already been given a place in this chapter, and nearly all of the rest have been mentioned, usually at length in chapters given over to the professions or special subjects. They are re-grouped here, more for their relation to the growth of Boston on the social side of things, than because of their professional or business success.

Boston Statesmen—Boston has been peculiarly the mother of statesmen, if not of Presidents. Even in the latter respect she has furnished her share of those who have sat in the highest place that is the gift of the Republic. There have been two Adamses who were, respectively, the second and the sixth Presidents of the United States. John Quincy Adams, born at Braintree, Massachusetts, July 11, 1767, and died at Washington, D. C., February 23, 1848, was a successful lawyer and brilliant writer before entering public life in a large way. He held many offices, having been minister to Holland, England and Prussia, the Senator for the State in Congress, Commissioner at the Treaty of Ghent, Secretary of State of the United States and its sixth President, from 1825 to 1829. Even after his retirement from the Presidency he continued to serve the Commonwealth in the National Congress until his death.

Joseph Storey, born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, September 18, 1779, and died at Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 10, 1845, was more noted as a jurist than statesman, probably because he was more interested in the administration of laws rather than in making them. He was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, and speaker of the

House in 1811; a member of Congress and a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1820. In 1811 he was appointed a justice in the Supreme Court of the United States, and in 1829 was elected to the Dane Chair of Law at Harvard University, holding this office to his death. Of the several notable works of which he was the author, his "Commentaries" is the best known and is still a standard on the Constitution. He belongs rather to Cambridge than to Boston.

Daniel Webster, born in Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 28, 1782, died in Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852, was admitted to the bar of Boston in 1805, and made his great legal success in connection with the Dartmouth College case, of which school he was a graduate (1801). He was elected a member of Congress in 1813; moved to Boston and was sent from there to Congress again in 1816. From this time dates his career as the foremost public figure of his time, serving at various periods as United States Senator, and as Secretary of State during the administrations of Presidents Harrison and Fillmore. Why he should never have been chosen President is one of the puzzles of history of which there have been many unsatisfactory solutions offered. Webster's fame as an orator and statesman "has never been surpassed in the United States," says the writer of the State Street Trust Company's brochure. So much has been written concerning the "Defender of the Constitution" that little more than the mention of his name is required here.

Edward Everett, born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, died in Boston, January 15, 1865, is decidedly one of Boston's great sons. A contemporary of Webster whom he succeeded as Secretary of State under President Fillmore, many hold him to have been the more eminent orator. As one historian, M. A. DeW. Howe has it, "The permanence of Webster's fame as an orator, owes much to the contribution many of his speeches made to the history of his generation. But for his political eminence, even his towering personality might not have preserved his fame." And again, "It is the common testimony of those who heard Everett that in hearing him they learned the meaning of the word eloquence." He had the commanding presence, the marvelous voice, and the tremendous memory and command of words, associated with oratory, and his gifts were ones never used for ignoble purposes. He, after graduating from Harvard in 1811, became successively the pastor of the Brattle Street Church, Boston, professor of Greek literature at Harvard, following this in many positions of trust, including the presidency of Harvard, the governorship of the Commonwealth, Senator from Massachusetts, and Secretary of State of the United States. Against his wishes he ran for the vice-presidency on the ticket opposed to Lincoln, but when the conflict with the South broke, his services, both as orator and leader, were

given whole-heartedly to the Union. Upon the occasion of his death when more than seventy years of age, Lincoln issued a public proclamation of the fact to the Nation.

Rufus Choate, born in Essex, Massachusetts, October 1, 1799, died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, July 13, 1859, was the other member of this triumvirate of orators, which included Webster and Everett. One wrote of him, "Webster is like other folks, only there is more of him; but as to Choate, who ever saw or knew his like?" He evidently was almost the equal of the other two in the power of oratory, his skill as a lawyer, and his position in politics, yet his fame seems to have been all but forgotten in the passage of years. He, like Webster, was a graduate of Dartmouth College (1819) and practiced law for ten years at Danvers, Massachusetts; and moved to Boston in 1834, where he made his name as a lawyer. As a public servant he was elected to both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature; was a member of Congress and United States Senator from 1841 to 1845.

There was a little group of Boston statesmen who, during the Civil War, brought honor to the city from whence they came, and wisely helped to guide this and other States of the Nation during that crisis. Four may be singled out, two of these serving in public office, and two doing their share in the moulding of public opinion. Charles Sumner represented the Commonwealth as its National Senator; John Albion Andrew was Governor of the State, both when strong men were needed. William Lloyd Garrison, the eldest of the group, was an anti-slavery leader; Wendell Phillips might also be classed as another anti-slavery leader, but in his long and active life stood for reform in many lines. Charles Sumner, born January 6, 1811, died March 11, 1874, was a graduate of Harvard College and Law School (1830 and 1834) and practiced his profession in Boston as well as becoming a lecturer in the Law School at Cambridge. He succeeded Webster in the United States Senate, and the brutal attack on the floor of the Senate by Brooks is a matter well known to every school boy. What is not recalled is that Sumner, although incapacitated by the attack for several years, continued to represent Massachusetts in that august body, and held, during the period of the war, the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

John Albion Andrew, born in Windham, Maine, May 31, 1818, died in Boston, October 30, 1867, was the "War Governor of Massachusetts." A lawyer, graduate of Bowdoin College, 1837, he was admitted to the bar in 1840. His public career began with election to minor office, but, in 1858, he was made a State Representative, and later served in the convention which nominated Lincoln for the presidency. In 1860, Andrew was elected Governor of the Commonwealth, serving throughout the war period from 1861 to 1865. It was through his vigorous efforts that the

first well-equipped regiment in the United States was sent to Washington at the call of the President, and the other troops which Massachusetts was so prompt to supply all during the conflict. Like many another, Andrew gave his life for his State and country, not on the more dramatic field of battle, nor at the hands of an assassin. He so steadily overworked in conduct of his office that he survived the end of the war but two years.

William Lloyd Garrison, born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, December 12, 1804, died in Boston May 24, 1879, was a printer by trade, the editor of papers, and a reformer by nature before settling in Boston. In this city, his whole soul being imbued with the desire to end slavery as an American institution, he founded the "Liberator," for the expression of his, then, unpopular views. He was only about twenty-six at this time, but the vigor with which he advocated abolition won him no plaudits in a community which was in most friendly relations with the South and very much dependent upon it for its prosperity. Garrison was mobbed in 1835 and escaped with his life only by being thrust into jail over night until a way could be made for his safety. He was the founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1832, and its president from 1843 to 1865. Probably no one organization of that period had more to do with the moulding of Boston's sentiments on the question of slavery than this society.

Wendell Phillips, born in Boston, November 29, 1811, died in Boston February 2, 1884, was the son of the first mayor of Boston as Josiah Quincy was of the second, both sons being anti-slavery men. Phillips was a lawyer by profession, having graduated from Harvard College and Law School, and admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1834. "He abandoned his profession, as he could not conscientiously subscribe to the Constitution of the United States, which then countenanced slavery." He made his maiden speech for the cause of which he was to become one of its principal orators, at a meeting held to denounce the murder of Elijah Lovejoy in Illinois by a pro-slavery mob. "That speech changed the whole feeling with regard to it (slavery) though the bigotry and pigheadedness of the abolitionists prevented my acting upon it," said John Murray Forbes, who later became the confidential advisor and helper of Governor Andrew. Wendell Phillips was president of the Anti-Slavery Society from 1865 until its dissolution in 1870. His later life was that of a public lecturer.

Boston Clergy—As was to be expected, the clergy of Boston, particularly the Unitarian, came out very emphatically for abolition, and many of its members stood shoulder to shoulder with Garrison, Phillips, Quincy, Higginson, and the other anti-slavery proponents of the pre-

Civil War period. Theodore Parker stands out above the crowd, mainly because he was a radical in many matters, and one capable of seizing the attention of even his opponents. He was a native of Lexington, Massachusetts, born August 24, 1810, and died at Florence, Italy, May 10, 1860. Installed as the pastor of the Second Unitarian Church of West Roxbury, in 1837, he was the most practical of preachers, but so unorthodox a thinker as practically to have separated himself from his fellows of his denomination in polity and faith. In 1846 he came into Boston proper and founded what was called the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society. Six years later his preaching in the Music Hall, continued until 1859, attracted the attention of New England; his fame spreading for eloquence, radical theology, and reform measures, of which temperance and the abolition of slavery were the principal. It was Parker who performed the marriage ceremony of the negro fugitive Crafts to whom, at the ceremony, he presented a Bible and a bowie knife for defense, while he, Parker, wrote his sermons with a drawn sword and pistol beside him to protect the fugitives should that be necessary.

The ministers of Boston, whether in the beginning or in the later times, rose to heights of influence and leadership somewhat unusual. It was so during the abolition controversies before the Civil War, and during the crises preceding and following it. Although much space has been given to the men of this profession, it would not be fair to pass by in this list of Boston's immortals, the first Catholic bishop of Boston, de Cheverus, and the first among the separated Unitarians, William Ellery Channing. When Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus came to Boston in 1796, it was hardly expected that the church he represented could by any whim of fortune become the largest religious organization in Boston. He was of distinguished parentage, born at Mayenne, France, January 28, 1768, and died at Bordeaux, France, July 19, 1836. Since a fairly full account is given of this man and his work in Boston in the chapter on Boston's religions, it is not necessary to indicate here more than his place among the great ones of the city. He was made the bishop of Boston in 1808.

William Ellery Channing, born in Newport, Rhode Island, April 7, 1780, died at Bennington, Vermont, October 2, 1842. His biography is given elsewhere in the story of the Unitarian Church of which he was the leading exponent in the early part of the nineteenth century.

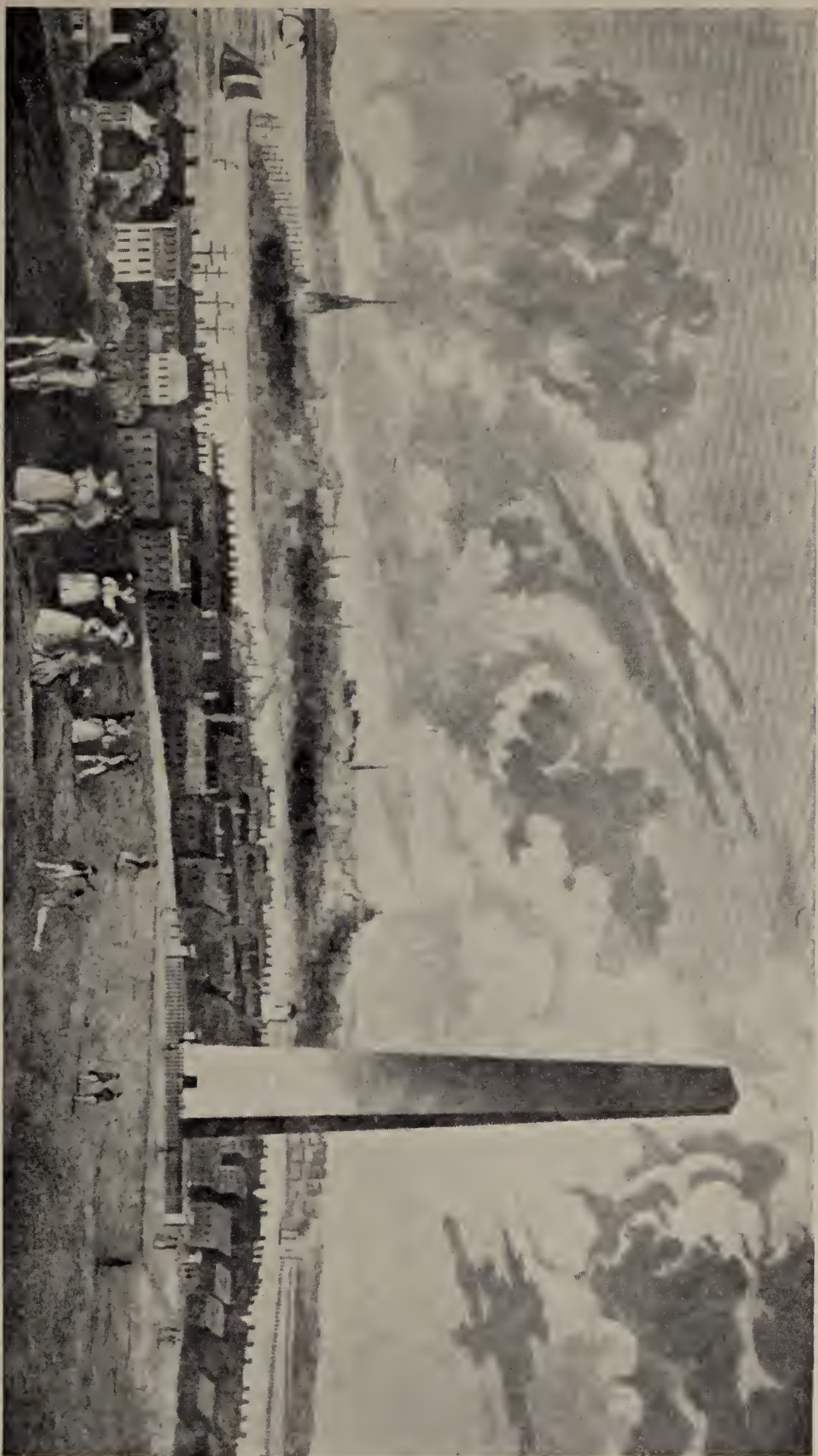
Architects, Scientists, and Benefactors—Before leaving the more ancient days, let honor be given to Charles Bulfinch, architect of the State House, and many of the early public buildings of the city, including the Massachusetts General Hospital's central structure, the first Roman Catholic Cathedral, the State Prison and the first Boston theatre. Charles Bulfinch was born in Boston, August 8, 1763, and died in Boston

April 15, 1844. His training in architecture was secured abroad, his return to Boston being in 1787. The "Bulfinch architecture" still dominates much of Boston's local landscape, but the gentleman who became dejected in later years because there was no more room for buildings of his design might be somewhat astonished by the space that has been added to the city, and the type of architecture which has since come into style. Bulfinch lived in Washington, D. C., from 1818 to 1830, when acting as the architect of the National Capitol.

Nathaniel Bowditch, born in Salem, Massachusetts, died in Boston, March 16, 1838, may be called Boston's first mathematician, navigator, and astronomer. He had little early schooling, was an apprentice until of age, after this a seaman for nine years. His last trip was made as the captain and supercargo of the good ship "Putnam" (1802). "Although self-taught, he so mastered mathematics that he published 'The Practical Mariner,' but his great work is his 'Commentary' on the 'Mecanique Celeste of Laplace,' the celebrated astronomer and mathematician." He was a member of many of the scientific societies of Europe and the United States.

Abbott Lawrence, born in Groton, December 16, 1792, died in Boston, August 18, 1855, was the first of the great merchant princes and philanthropists of the many in Boston. A country boy, clerk in a cross-roads store, he became a member with his brother of the firm of A. & A. Lawrence, importers, whose ships were known in the ports of the Seven Seas. Among his many benefactions was the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University, founded with an endowment of \$100,000, a very large gift for that day. Mr. Lawrence served two terms in Congress and was the United States minister to England from 1849 to 1852.

Samuel Gridley Howe was another of the early benefactors of Boston, not through the giving of large sums of money, for he never was wealthy, but through his ability to persuade men of means to support the works to which he was willing to give himself. He was a Boston boy, born November 10, 1801, died in Boston, January 9, 1876. A graduate of Brown University when twenty, he studied medicine but devoted his life to philanthropic enterprises, the most remarkable of which was the Perkins Institute for the Blind which he organized in 1832, and with which he was connected the remainder of his life. It was the result of his studies abroad in the methods of educating the blind, that he opened a little back room school for a dozen blind students, whom he taught by raised types made by pasting twine on paper. Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins, merchant and ship-owner, becoming interested in Howe's labors, gave to the work a mansion with its grounds on Pearl Street, on the condition that twice the value of the place be contributed by others. Such was the beginning of the largest institution for the blind in New England.



OLD VIEW, SHOWING BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

Authors—So far the list of "Immortals" have included none whose principal activities were literary, and Boston has been and is a "literary center." M. A. DeW. Howe is sure that "Boston was the literary centre—without quotation marks—during the period in which American literature acquired a shelf of its own in the library of the race. . . . The production of books possessing something like permanence is perhaps the most characteristic mark of a *centre* to which the term *literary*, in its true meaning of 'related to literature' may be applied. Name the American writers whose works have stood the test of half a century, and with a few notable exceptions they belong to Boston and its neighborhood." With so many names from which to choose, the responsibility for limiting the number mentioned here shall be placed upon those who selected the famous "forty" notables of Boston.

Among the Boston historians, Prescott and Parkman stand out, and from the birth of the former to the death of the latter covers a period of nearly a century. William Hickling Prescott, born in Salem, Massachusetts, died in Boston, January 28, 1859, chose a literary career, not despite of practical blindness, but because of it. His whole life was one courageous fight to overcome a handicap; the quantity and quality of his work under the circumstances is remarkable. The more noted of his works, "The Conquest of Peru," "The Conquest of Mexico," and the "History of Philip II of Spain," were translated into half a dozen languages, and won for their author membership in many of the learned societies of America and Europe. Nor was he an unimportant figure in Boston's civic affairs; he was one of the group of abolitionists in the day when they were decidedly unpopular.

Francis Parkman, born in Boston September 16, 1825, died in Boston November 8, 1893, was another of those whose disabilities of eyesight "at once restricted his intercourse with the world and demanded of his own life a strain of heroism as genuine as any his pen recorded of others." Parkman was a graduate of Harvard Law School, but instead of practicing law, devoted his energies to literature. He traveled extensively through America, thus laying the foundations for his works touching the pioneer history of the country. In 1851 he published the "Conspiracy of Pontiac," which was followed by a series of publications issued under the title "France and England in America."

Edward Everett Hale, born in Boston, April 3, 1822, died in Boston, June 10, 1909, did much to make history popular both with the young and the old. His long, well-rounded life was spent in many fields of activity. He was a loved pastor all his days after graduating from a school of theology—he was a member of the class of 1839, Harvard University. A noted preacher, director and co-laborer in many uplift movements, he

found the time to be a voluminous writer. Had he written only "The Man Without a Country," he would not have written in vain.

Limiting the literary lights, aside from historians, to two, the choice falls upon Longfellow and Holmes. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, born in Portland, Maine, February 27, 1807, died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 24, 1882, is more often associated with Cambridge, where he had his historic home, than with Boston. Yet, after his second marriage, he was closely allied with the literary and social life of Boston. He was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1825, studied law under his father, but like many another, gave up the practice of his profession for literature. After being the Professor of Modern Literature and Languages at Bowdoin, he was called to Harvard University to fill a like chair. His poetry is too well known to need even a reference to his most famous poems. At his home, he received notables from all over the world, and that same historic mansion is the destination of many a literary pilgrimage of today. The lofty sentiment and benignant beauty of his verses were but the reflections of the character of the man.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, born in Cambridge, August 29, 1809, died in Boston, October 7, 1894, so completely identified himself and his work with Boston as almost to become Boston to the world at large. His own idea that "the identification with a locality is the surer passport to immortality than cosmopolitanism is" was true in his case. He was a member of the famous class of 1829 of Harvard, and began his literary production while in school. Verse and prose flowed readily from his pen, and many of both still stand out above the enormous mass of writings which smother so much of what is good in the literature of the past. One must still go to his "Autocrat" or "Professor" of the breakfast table, if one would get the feel of Boston's uniqueness. Howe remarks of "Little Boston" one of the characters in the "Professor" and its author: "His thoughts and words could have been put on paper only by one who was saturated with the local spirit and traditions. It is good to hear the crooked little man glorying in his birthplace, 'full of crooked little streets'; but I tell you Boston has opened, and kept open, more turnpikes that lead straight to free thought and free speech and free deeds than any other city of live or dead men, I don't care how broad their streets are, nor how high their steeples!" Meanwhile it is well to recall that Holmes was a really notable physician, although greatest as a professor of anatomy and physiology at both Dartmouth and Harvard Colleges.

As the list of the "Forty Immortals of Boston" began with the clergyman, John Cotton, just so will this close with one of Boston's greatest of ministers. Phillips Brooks was a native of Boston, born December 13, 1835, and died in the city January 23, 1893. Unlike most of the "Immortals" he confined his efforts to one line, and however successfully he

might have engaged in other pursuits, he was preëminently the Christian minister. He prepared for his labors at Harvard, graduating in 1855, and at the Theological Seminary at Alexandria, Virginia. His first parish was at Philadelphia, but in 1869 he returned to his native city and became the rector of Trinity Church. He here remained until sudden death deprived Boston of one of its broadest minded and most spiritual citizens. His loss was not only mourned by the city, but regretted by the thousands elsewhere who had loved and been influenced by the life and words of this bishop of Massachusetts. As one has written, but before the monument which now graces the church-yard of his church was placed: "The space before Trinity Church may still afford to wait the monument which is to stand there, for the people hardly need to be reminded yet that their city is a better place because Phillips Brooks lived in it."



CHAPTER VI.

CIVIL AFFAIRS TO THE PRESENT.

The rise and growth of the municipal government of Boston is worthy of attention and study, for its story not only illustrates the development of city government in all New England cities, but shows many of the stages that characterize the evolution of all American municipalities. Then, too, even a brief study of the various lines of activity, the many great undertakings, the vast and complicated machinery by which Boston cares for itself, opens one's eyes to the varied and great problems that confront the modern cities of today. Not all the chapters in this story are pleasing, yet there is far less of the discreditable than might be expected. Neither has the highly organized machinery of government kept pace with modern needs and the expansion of the city, but neither has this been true of any large place. More than a century has passed since Boston secured its first municipal charter. Many revisions were made in this, and the city now operates under a charter of 1909 with its amendments. Originally the municipal system was based on the assumption that a city was a little state and should be governed in a similar manner. The bicameral legislative idea found in the charters of all early established New England cities has gone by the board in Boston together with many other obsolete notions, and the city government is no longer a State government in miniature. There has been a great deal of friction in the bringing about of these changes; an added difficulty—and advantage—has been the position of Boston as the capital of the State. The story of municipal affairs is full of adventures and misadventures and must continue to be, but the tale is one which can be told with pride. The words once used by Emerson in regard to the city still apply: "Let her stand fast by herself. She has grown great. She is filled with strangers, but she can only prosper by adhering to her faith. Let every child that is born of her and every child of her adoption see to it to keep the name of Boston as clean as the sun and in the distant ages her motto shall be the prayer of millions on all the hills that gird the town: as with our Fathers, so God be with us."

Disadvantages of the Town Meeting—For nearly two hundred years after the founding of Boston it remained under a town form of government. When the handful of men came at the invitation of William Blackstone, in 1630, from Charlestown and located on the Shawmut peninsula they had no thought that they were laying the foundations of

a great city. Their choice of location appealed to later incoming Puritans and others, and a straggling village sprawled over the hills of Trimount. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, a very simple form of government grew up. Town meetings were held to transact the business of the village, in which every freeman had a voice; the town's affairs being run by the whole body of freemen. As the village grew, this method became unwieldy and selected men were delegated to perform some of the duties of the whole. Out of these grew the "Board of Selectmen"; still further needs and changes led to the election of individuals whose duties were strictly defined and limited. In 1822 Boston had grown to be a town of 45,000 inhabitants, 7,000 of whom were voters. It was the largest town in this country, and rule by open meeting was impossible. No hall could accommodate such a number. If a considerable portion of the voters attempted to attend town meeting, only a few could get near enough the moderator to take an active part in the business to be transacted, or even to hear what was going on. Hence it came about that only the town officers and a few personally interested citizens attended the town meetings. In brief, the town meeting became a farce, the machinery of town government broke down under its own inadequacy.

Efforts to Change the Town Government—As early as 1708 efforts were made to offset the inefficiency of the town form of government, but with no result. In 1784 a petition of influential citizens secured the appointment of a committee which reported on two plans: one "making the body politic a mayor, aldermen and a common council of the city of Boston"; the other "making the town a body politic, the president and selectmen of the city of Boston." When put to the voters the report was rejected. Other efforts were made and submitted to the voters of the town, purposing the chartering of Boston as a city in 1792, 1804 and 1815. So habituated were the people to the old method of government not one of the plans was accepted, although the defeat of the 1815 provision was by a lack of but thirty-one votes. Some few years later it was discovered that there was no provision in the State Constitution for the incorporation of cities, so that it may have been just as well that none of the efforts at attainment of a city government had succeeded. The realization of the lack of authority on the part of the General Court to erect a city government gave a new impetus to the desire to incorporate Boston. On April 29, 1821, the Constitution was amended and during the next year the city of Boston was chartered.

The Cumbersome Officialdom of the Town—The town government as elaborated during the one hundred and ninety-two years in which it

had existed was as follows: The town had been divided into twelve wards. There were nine selectmen, whose chairman generally had charge of the police; twelve overseers of the poor; thirty-five fire wards; twelve school committeemen; twelve members of a Board of Health—one chosen from each ward; twenty surveyors of boards; six fence viewers; six cullers of staves and hoops; nine cullers of dry fish; four field drivers; three inspectors of lime; two surveyors of hemp; two surveyors of wheat; two assay masters; a town treasurer and a town clerk. Seven selectmen acted as surveyors of the highways, and there were twenty-four assistant assessors, two from each ward. These officials were chosen annually at ward meetings and presided over by wardens who were themselves elective officers. The financial policy and affairs of the town were largely controlled by the selectmen, the overseers of the poor and Board of Health, as a standing committee on finance, which chose the town treasurer—the principal assessors were selected by the twenty-four assistant assessors. In all, at the last town meeting, 112 officers were elected besides those appointed by the selectmen or elected by each ward. It was a rather cumbersome officialdom that had grown up under the town system. One wonders whether its numerical strength and the multitude of political honors did not form one of the main reasons for the reluctance of the voters to change to a more efficient, but numerically less, city system.

The Acceptance of the City Charter—Reluctant, the voters of the town certainly were, as proven by the vote at the meeting in 1822 when the city charter was accepted. In the first month of 1822 a special meeting was held in Faneuil Hall at which a committee reported in favor of a chief executive to be known as the Intendant, who should be elected by the selectmen; an executive board of seven persons called selectmen, to be elected by the voters on a general ticket; and a body of mixed legislative and executive powers, called the Board of Assistants, to be composed of four persons chosen from each of twelve wards. This report was amended by changing the titles of the official, the most of which had been drawn from ancient French terminology; mayor, aldermen and Common Council replaced Intendant, selectmen and Board of Assistants. Other immediate changes fixed the Board of Aldermen at eight members, and the Common Council at forty-eight members, four from each ward. The matter was brought to a head by submitting the question to the people of Boston whether thereafter the name of the "Town of Boston" should be altered to "the City of Boston." This latter name was chosen by a vote of 2,727 to 2,087. The Governor approved the act establishing the city of Boston February 23, 1822. On March 4, of the same year, the acceptance of the charter granted by the State Legisla-

ture the previous month was put up to the still reluctant voters. The vote of acceptance—2,797 in the affirmative, and 1,881 in the negative—shows how strong the feeling was against change. "Not a few of the old residents who had fought under the eyes of George Washington in the field, and under the eyes of Samuel Adams in the town meetings, looked upon the act which divided their folk-mote into twelve separate and silent gatherings, where men delegated their rights to others, as the beginning of the end of democratic government."

The First City Government—The new city government was not so radically different from that of the town. It was, in fact, an attempt to perpetuate the old régime, in an attempt to substitute delegated for direct control. The number of wards was the same, twelve, each forming a voting precinct. The mayor was elected annually until 1896, when the term was extended to two years. He had no power to appoint or remove officials, no veto over municipal legislation and, in general, no control of the executive work of the city except indirectly through his veto in the Board of Aldermen and the power to appoint committees. The legislative body of the city consisted of eight aldermen, chosen at large, and forty-eight council, an imitation of the Senate and House forms of State government. The mayor presided over the aldermen; the council selected its moderator. To these bodies was given the power to transact the legislative business that had been carried on by the voters of the town. The city council also chose the assessors, the auditor, the engineers of the fire department, the superintendent of streets, and many other officers. Until 1885 the administration of Boston was practically in the hands of the City Council.

Weakness of First Charter—This first charter was, perhaps, the only one which could receive the approval of a people trained for nearly two centuries in the town system of government, but it was inherently weak. Josiah Quincy, the second mayor, was too great to be content with being little more than a figure-head, and tried to overcome the weakness of the charter by placing himself at the head of all the important committees of the Board of Aldermen. He thus familiarized himself with the various activities of his city's government, and assumed greater powers than were allowed him by the charter. He accomplished much as the chief magistrate, but he brought upon himself severe abuse by his opponents. Meanwhile, Boston was fast assuming the proportions of a metropolis. It was more than a seaport, for the railroad had become a success and lines had been built into the city, so that it was in close contact with the whole Nation. Immigration had brought new elements into the city and into its politics. No longer was there a "Boston Religion," for new

racers had introduced new churches. Business broadened, labor was of many kinds, interests had multiplied and become complex. Committees in the city government usurped the work of others, and sometimes refused to care for what other departments declared was theirs to do. The City Council had so interfered with other branches as to stir insurrection within the political ranks. In 1854 the charter was revised, and this revised charter, with numerous amendments, became the fundamental law on which the present management of the city is based. A comparison of its outline with that of the first, and a realization of some of the developments of the years that followed, show very clearly that the intention and the tendency of the new charter was to increase the mayor's power and to restrict the powers of the City Council. It was only a tendency, at first, for in 1854 the mayor was still left with little more than advisory powers.

The Amended Charter—The amendments of 1885 brought about somewhat of a separation of the executive business of the city from the legislative. "The charter of 1885 took the form of a few short amendments by which the executive powers of the municipality were transferred to the mayor, to be administered by officials and boards of the various departments, under the supervision and control of the mayor. Thus these officials and boards were given the general direction and control of all the executive business of Boston. The City Council was expressly prohibited from interfering in any manner with the work of the executive in the way of employing labor, making contracts, purchasing materials, etc. The amendments, furthermore, gave the mayor the authority to appoint all officials and members of boards except the city messenger, but made all appointments subject to the confirmation by the Board of Aldermen." There were a number of other changes and the placing of power, but the substance of the amendments as relating to the mayor is that it placed in his hands the entire charge of, and the responsibility for, the conduct of the executive business of the city. It was the substituting of a one man power for the control of city affairs by committees; it was a distrust of the Common Council and its ability to carry on the executive business of a municipality efficiently and honestly.

The Charter of 1909—The charter of 1885 was good, but not good enough, certain weaknesses soon becoming manifest. The provision for the appointments by the mayor to be subject to the approval of the aldermen; the failure to provide a penalty for the interference by the Council with the executive branch of the government; the illegal acts possible to many of the departments, all were flaws that called for elimination or amendment. All of which led to the Charter of 1909, which, with amend-

ments, is the measure under which the municipal government of Boston now functions.

"The Finance Commission of 1907, when entrusted with the task of framing a new city charter, sought to correct the evils which had arisen in the city administration by the means of several expedients. A complete separation of the executive and legislative branches of government was sought. The appointments by the mayor were no longer subject to the confirmation by the Board of Aldermen, but all heads of departments were to be certified by the Civil Service Commission. A penalty was imposed for the interference with the executive business on the part of the City Council. In regard to finances, the new charter provided that all appropriations, to be met from sources other than loans, must originate with the mayor. The City Council could no longer increase any item or add new ones. The mayor was given an absolute veto power over any acts of the City Council, extending to a veto of any item in a bill requiring the expenditure of money and to any part of an item. The term of the mayor was extended to four years, subject to recall at the end of two years."

"The new charter abolished the bi-cameral organization of the City Council and provided that it should consist of but nine members, to be elected at large for a term of three years, only three being elected each year. An entirely new charter feature provided for the appointment of a permanent Finance Commission, with all the powers of the first commission, but its members were to be selected by the Governor, the idea being that a body quite independent of the municipal government would be able to serve as a check on the waste and corruption. The charter as drawn up by the Finance Commission of 1907 was passed by the General Court of 1909, but its political features, to be submitted to the voters for their acceptance, were divided into two plans, one providing for a single legislative council, consisting of one member from each ward, to be elected for two years, and nine members at large, to be elected for three years. Also the term of the mayor was left at two years. The other plan contained the recommendation of the Finance Commission of a single legislative chamber of nine members, and this plan was adopted by the voters. The charter of 1909 has been amended in some respects, the principal changes being that the mayor shall not be eligible for reelection for the succeeding term (that is, a term of four years must elapse before a mayor can again become a candidate), the abolition of the recall of the mayor, different dates for elections, and the various changes of minor importance."

The Power of the Mayor—The tendency has been all through the various charter changes to concentrate the power of city government in

single or few hands. The mayor of Boston holds a position of large responsibility; the office is no longer purely honorary, conferred as a matter of social distinction. In Great Britain, the town or city clerk is the real executive, holding his place because of his proven fitness. In Germany the mayor was (formerly) what might be called the City Manager, an individual chosen by the City Council because of his training and experience in managing the multitudinous affairs of a municipality. In Boston, and in most parts of the United States, the effort is made to combine in one man both the ornamental and practical functions of an executive, and do it by selection, or election. It may not be the ideal method of getting the best results; men will on occasion be installed in the highest office within a municipality who have neither the experience nor fitness for the job. If one but looks over the long list of mayors who have served the metropolis, one cannot but be impressed with the good fortune of Boston during the more than a century that it has had a city form of government.

Overlapping Functions of State and City—There are certain important powers which have been secured or retained by the Commonwealth which overlap functions that are normally municipal. The heads of departments and members of municipal boards appointed by the mayor are subject to the approval of the Civil Service Commission of Massachusetts. There must, of course, be some reviewing body which, in the interest of the public, should have oversight of the mayor's power of appointment and removal. It is one of the anomalies of the municipal government that such a function should rest with a commission appointed by the Governor of the State.

The Finance Commission which created the charter under which Boston is now ruled, and which was perpetuated by that charter, is appointed by the Governor of the Commonwealth with the advice and consent of the Executive Council. The Finance Commission of 1907 made one of the most thorough investigations of city affairs in the history of the municipality, and made such severe and fearless condemnations of the weaknesses, and worse, in the city administration, that it led to the radical changes of the Charter of 1909. Whether this commission should have been succeeded by others as independent organizations of the State is still questioned by many. The present Finance Commission has the duty of investigating all the matters relating to the finances of Boston, or the county of Suffolk, and other investigations as may be required, and to make annual reports to the mayor, the City Council, the Governor and the General Court. The commission is authorized to employ expert counsels and other assistants as may seem necessary, but not at a cost

exceeding \$25,000 a year. The findings and recommendations of the commission are embodied in documents, many in number.

Others of the city officers appointed by powers outside of the city government, are the Licensing Board of three, appointed by the Governor; the managers of the Franklin Fund, twelve, whose appointment rests with the Supreme Court, and the Police Commissioner, who is appointed by the Governor of the Commonwealth. The policy of creating revenue and securing a proper supervision over certain selling agencies is very old, almost as ancient as the colony. Since 1822 licensing has been used more for the purpose of regulation than for income, the liquor license being the principal one until recent times. The income from the latter mentioned source was large, however. Until 1905 the authority to grant liquor license remained with the Board of Police, but the new charter, in that year, placed nearly all licensing powers in the hands of a board appointed by the Governor.

Interference by the Commonwealth in Municipal Affairs—The most notable example of State interference in the management of municipal affairs is that to be seen in the present system of police control, the Commissioner of Police being the Governor's appointee. By some, the taking over of the control of the police by the authorities of the Commonwealth is considered as the crowning indignity heaped upon the head of the city, and the one most bitterly resented. A study of the inaugurals of the different mayors show how thoroughly this control has been condemned. It was foisted upon Boston with the charter of 1909, but it must also be remembered that no charter has ever been imposed upon an unwilling city; they have been accepted by the voters.

The early custom was for the selectmen to appoint two classes of police, the "watchmen" and the "constables." The watchmen served at night and patrolled the ill-lighted town with lanterns and "rattles." The constables, although liable to regular police duties, were chiefly concerned with serving civil processes. This organization was carried over with the establishment of the city form of government, with the appointment vested in the mayor and the aldermen. With the years came extraordinary increases in the numbers of the "watchmen" or the police, and changes were made in the internal direction of this body and the manner in which it was officered. The dual system was continued until 1854, when the watch and the police were combined under a chief of police. Curiously, the police were not uniformed until 1858.

The first attempt to transfer the appointment of the police to the Commonwealth was during the early Civil War period when a committee was appointed by the General Court to look into the conditions of the

Boston police force. The movement for the appointment of the police by State authorities came up several times during the following years, only to be defeated. The method of selecting police officers was modified in 1863; they being appointed to hold their positions during good behavior instead of annually. The power over the police was still divided between the mayor, aldermen and chief of the force. In 1878 laws were passed providing for a police commission of three, to serve three years, appointed by the mayor with the approval of the City Council. This proved unsatisfactory, and through the law of 1885 the Governor of the State was given the authority to appoint three citizens of Boston from the two leading political parties who should constitute the Board of Police. Thus another step was taken away from local self-government. The final change in the law affecting the government of the police took place in 1906, when it was turned over to a single commissioner appointed by the Governor of the Commonwealth.

The history of the police department is told elsewhere in this work, so that it is no part of this chapter to describe the development of that important body. Whether the police measures of 1885 and 1906 have succeeded in bringing about the administrative reforms expected of them has yet to be proven. The number of policemen have increased greatly, and the expenditures for police protection have multiplied enormously. There has also been a large addition to the work placed upon the police. "The total cost for police protection in 1822 was \$8,999.52, and a hundred years later, \$3,787,446. . . . Even in times when 'muck-raking' of city departments was in fashion all over the country the police force of Boston was credited with being clean and efficient." Too much publicity has been given to the "police strike" of 1919, probably because Calvin Coolidge, now President of the United States, was then Governor of the Commonwealth, and with the late Edwin U. Curtis and Andrew J. Peters, then mayor, settled the famous strike. It was a time of turbulence and riots, and led to a radical reorganization of the force. It was but an incident in the affairs of the police department and may well be forgotten.

The Present City Government—To summarize the present situation in the city government, the municipal officials appointed by authorities of the Commonwealth are: The Finance Commission, the Licensing Board, the Police Commissioner, all selected by the Governor; and the managers of the Franklin Fund who are appointed by the Supreme Court. The Mayor, City Council and School Committee are all elected by the voters; the City Clerk is chosen by the City Council. The other officials are appointments of the Mayor. The following table shows the organization of the (1926) city government:

METROPOLITAN BOSTON

OFFICERS ELECTED BY THE PEOPLE.

Officers.	How Created	Term.	Salary.	
Mayor	Statute	Four years. Begins first Monday in February.	\$10,000 per annum.	Included on his staff is the License Clerk and the edi- tor of "City Record."
City Council (Nine Mem- bers)	"	Three years.	\$1,500 per annum.	Three members are elected each year. The City Coun- cil elects the City Clerk, City Messenger and Clerk of Committees.
School Committee (Five Members)	"	" "	None.	

OFFICERS IN CHARGE OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS.

The following is a list of the executive departments showing the manner in which the officers in charge are appointed or elected, the time of appointment or election, the term of office as prescribed by statute, ordinance, or both, and the salary received by each. Heads of departments and members of municipal boards appointed by the mayor are subject to approval by the Massachusetts Civil Service Commission.

Officers.	How Created.	Appointed or Elected.		Term.		Salary
		By Whom.	When.	Begins.	Length of.	
Assessors (three)	Statute	Mayor	Annually, one	April 1.....	Three years..	\$4,500
Auditor	Ord.	"	Quadrennially.	May 1.....	Four years...	7,000
Boston Sanatorium Trus- tees (seven)	"	"	Annually, one or two.	" 1.....	Five years...	None
Budget Commissioner ..	"	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	6,000
Building Commissioner..	Statute	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" " ...	6,000
City Clerk	"	City Council.	Triennially ..	1st Monday in Feb.	Three years..	6,000
City Planning Board (five)	Ord.	Mayor	Annually, one	May 1.....	Five years...	None
Collector	Statute	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	6,000
Corporation Counsel ...	Ord.	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" " ...	9,000
Election Commissioners (four)	Statute	"	Annually, one	April 1.....	" " ...	4,000
Fire Commissioner	"	"	Quadrennially.	May 1.....	" " ...	7,500
Health Commissioner ...	Ord.	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" " ...	7,500
Hospital Trustees (five).	Statute	"	Annually, one	" 1.....	Five years...	None
Institutions Commis- sioner	Ord.	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	7,500
Library Trustees (five).	"	"	Annually, one	" 1.....	Five years...	None
Markets, Superintendent of	"	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	4,000
Overseers of the Public Welfare (twelve)	Statute	"	Annually, four	" 1.....	Three years..	None

Officers.	How Created.	Appointed or Elected.		Term.		Salary.
		By Whom.	When.	Begins.	Length of.	
Park Commissioners (three)	"	"	Annually, one	" 1.....	" " ..	8
Printing, Superintendent of	Ord.	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	5,000
Public Buildings, Superintendent of	"	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" " ...	4,500
Public Works, Commissioner of	"	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" " ...	9,000
Registrar, City	Statute	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" " ...	4,000
Schoolhouse Commissioners (three)	"	"	Annually, one	June 1.....	Three years..	3,500
Sinking Funds Commissioners (six)	"	"	Annually, two	May 1.....	" " ..	None
Soldiers' Relief Commissioner	"	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	6,000
Statistics Trustees (five). Ord.	"	"	Annually, one	" 1.....	Five years...	None
Street Commissioners (three)	Statute	"	Annually, one	1st Monday in Feb.	Three years..	4,000
Supplies, Superintendent of	Ord.	"	Quadrennially.	May 1.....	Four years...	6,000
Transit Commissioners (three)	"	"	Annually	" 1.....	One year.....	5,000
Treasurer	Statute	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	" "	6,000
Vessels, Weighers of....	"	"	Annually, two	" 1.....	" "	Fees
Weights and Measures, Sealer of	"	"	Quadrennially.	" 1.....	Four years...	3,500

¹Chairman, \$6,000.²Chairman, \$4,500.³Chairman, \$7,000; others, none.⁴Chairman, \$500 additional.⁵Chairman, \$2,500 additional.

OTHER CITY OFFICERS.

The following table shows the manner in which officers connected with the city, other than the regular city department heads, are appointed, the time of appointment, the term of office, and the salary, if any, of each other. Appointments by the mayor marked with a * are subject to approval by the State Civil Service Commission.

Officers.	How Created.	Appointed or Elected.		Term.		Salary
		By Whom.	When.	Begins.	Length of.	
Art Commissioners* (five)	Statute	Mayor	Annually, one	May 1.....	Five years...	None
Board of Appeal* (five)	"	"	"	Aug. 1.....	" " ...	2
Boston and Cambridge Bridges Commissioners (two)	"	"	May, 1898 ....	.....	Indefinite ...	None

Officers.	How Created.	Appointed or Elected.		Term.		Salary.
		By Whom.	When.	Begins.	Length of.	
Finance Commission (five)	"	Governor ¹ ...	Annually, one .....	.....	Five years...	³
Licensing Board (three)	"	" ¹ ...	Biennially, one .....	.....	Six years.....	² 3,500
Managers of the Franklin Fund (twelve)	"	Supreme Court	As Vacancies Occur .....	.....	.....	None
Police Commissioner ...	"	Governor ¹ ...	.....	.....	Five years...	8,000

¹With the advice and consent of the Executive Council.

²Salary, \$10 per day, but not to exceed \$1,000 per year.

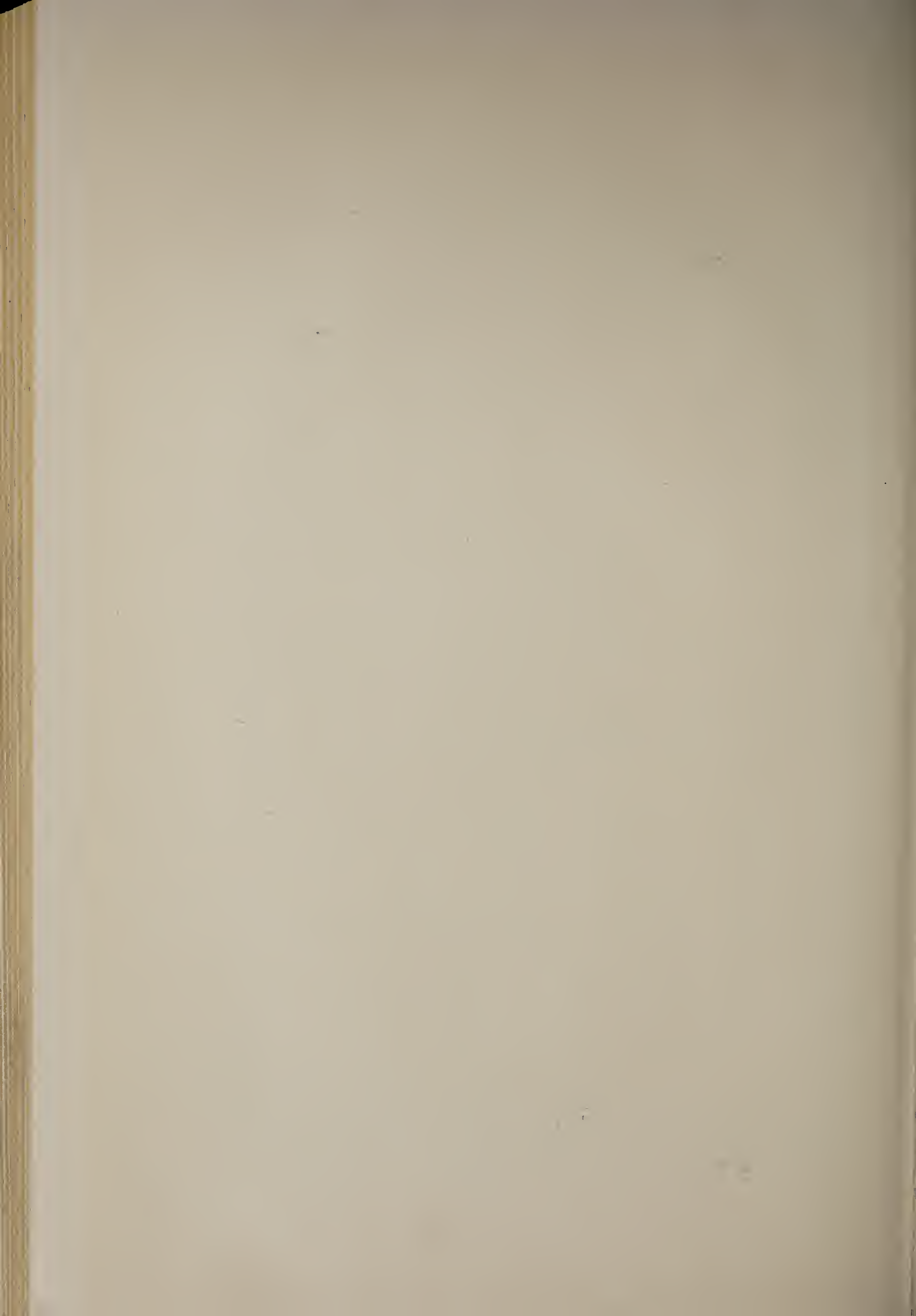
³Chairman, \$5,000; other members none.

⁴Chairman, \$500 additional.

The Mayor an Important Official—The consideration, even the most casual, of the manner in which the city of Boston is governed leaves one with the abiding impression that the mayor is an exceedingly important official, and the office one that calls for the highest type of individual. Even in the beginning, when as far as executive powers were concerned, the mayor of the city was little more than a figurehead, the office required an official of high standing in the community and State. Boston has been peculiarly fortunate in its city leaders. With few exceptions its mayors have been "leading citizens," men with forceful and constructive personalities capable of conducting the civil affairs. The roster of the officials covering more than a century contains the names of many notables, men that have not only served the municipality well, but were successful in other and, often, larger spheres of activity. The following is a list of the mayors of Boston from the beginning of the city government down to the present incumbent: 1822, John Phillips, one year; 1823, Josiah Quincy, six years; 1829 Harrison Gray Otis, three years; 1832, Charles Wells, two years; 1834, Theodore Lyman, Jr., two years; 1836, Samuel T. Armstrong, one year; 1837, Samuel A. Eliot, three years; 1840, Jonathan Chapman, three years; 1843, Martin Brimmer, two years; 1845, Thomas Davis, one year; 1846, Josiah Quincy, Jr., three years; 1849, John P. Bigelow, three years; 1852, Benjamin Seaver, three years; 1854, Jerome V. Smith, two years; 1856, Alexander H. Rice, two years; 1858, Frederick W. Lincoln, Jr., three years; 1861, Joseph M. Wightman, two years; 1863, Frederick W. Lincoln, four years; 1867, Otis Norcross, one year; 1868, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, three years; 1871, William O. Gaston, two years; 1873, Henry L. Pierce, one year; 1874, Samuel C. Cobb, three years; 1877, Frederick O. Prince, one year; 1878, Henry L. Pierce, one year; 1879, Frederick O. Prince, three years; 1882, Samuel G. Green, one year; 1883, Albert Palmer, one year; 1884, Augustus P.



OLD VIEW OF THE DOCKS



Martin, one year; 1885, Hugh O'Brien, three years; 1889, Thomas N. Hart, two years; 1891, Nathan Matthews, Jr., four years; 1895, Edwin U. Curtis, one year; 1896, Josiah Quincy, four years; 1900, Thomas N. Hart, two years; 1902, Patrick A. Collins, three and three-quarter years; 1906, John F. Fitzgerald, two years; 1908, George A. Hibbard, two years; 1910, John F. Fitzgerald, four years; 1914, James M. Curley, four years; 1918, Andrew J. Peters, four years; 1922, James M. Curley, four years; 1926, Malcolm E. Nichols. The mayors were elected annually until the Statute of 1895 made the term two years, which began with the election of Josiah Quincy in 1896. The four-year term began with the election of John F. Fitzgerald in 1910, the statute changing the term from two to four years having been passed in 1909.

Ex-Mayors and Their Careers—Edwin M. Bacon in outlining the earlier and later careers of the mayors of Boston has drawn attention to the facts that Harrison Gray Otis, the third mayor, had been Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, President of the Senate, Representative in Congress and Senator from the Commonwealth before accepting the office of mayor. Samuel T. Armstrong was Lieutenant-Governor before serving as mayor. Mayors Rice, Pierce, Collins, Fitzgerald and Curley have represented Boston in Congress. Two mayors later became Governors of the State: Alexander Rice and William O. Gaston. Four mayors were physicians: Jerome V. C. Smith, Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Frederick O. Prince and Samuel G. Green. Several of the mayors were elected to terms in the city government after having been out of office, such as Frederick W. Lincoln, in 1863; Henry L. Pierce, in 1878; Frederick O. Prince, in 1879, and John F. Fitzgerald. When the elections were annual most of the mayors served from one to four years. Frederick W. Lincoln was mayor from 1858 to 1867 except for the two-year term of Joseph M. Wightman (1861-1862) or seven years in all, thereby exceeding the record of the famous second mayor, Josiah Quincy, who was reëlected annually for a period of six consecutive years. The third of the Joshua Quincys serving as mayors, the three-time recurrence of this name amongst the mayors probably being unique in municipal histories, was the first to act for two terms under the bi-annual system. Patrick A. Collins (1902) was mayor for nearly two terms of four years, dying while in office (September 14, 1905). John F. Fitzgerald completed six years as mayor in 1914, having served one term of two years from 1906, and a second from 1910, of four years.

The Mayors of Boston—Since the mayor has been so dominant a factor in the government of the city, and since so much of the municipal history is bound up in the records of their administrations, it is fitting

that this chapter should contain an epitome of who the mayors have been and what they have done. For more complete stories of these individuals, the reader is referred to the city publication, "Boston, 1822 to 1922," and to a brochure issued by the State Trust Company entitled, "The Mayors of Boston." To these, and other publications the writer owes the material condensed in what follows.

John Phillips (November 26, 1770-May 29, 1823,) was the first mayor serving during the year 1822. He had been in the General Court for twenty-five years, during ten of which he was president of the Senate. One of the committee of twelve which reported favorably on a city charter, as a compromise candidate for the office of mayor, his election was almost unanimous. His delicate health led him to refuse to stand for a second term. He did much to make the transition to a city government easy, being a conservative, desiring to make as few changes from the town forms as was possible under the new charter. His activities were chiefly confined to the organization of the new administrative machinery created by the charter. Mayor Quincy wrote concerning him: "His administration laid the foundation of the prosperity of our city deep and on right principles." "His aim," said Mayor Otis, "was to allure, not to repel, to reconcile by gentle reforms, not to revolt by startling innovations." Wendell Phillips, the great abolitionist orator, was one of John Phillips' eight children.

Josiah Quincy (February 4, 1772—July 1, 1864) served during 1823-28. No man of his day took a greater interest in the development of Boston than Josiah Quincy, the "Great Mayor." A truly great personality, far sighted, possessed of constructive imagination, energetic and courageous, as he had shown in the State Legislature, in the National Congress and as president of Harvard, he established a record as mayor of Boston which has probably not been surpassed by his many successors. In his inaugural address he said: "The destinies of the City of Boston are of a nature too plain to be denied or misconceived. . . . The indications are apparent from the location of our city, from its harbor, and from its relative position among rival towns and cities, above all, from the character of its inhabitants and the singular degree of enterprise and intelligence which are diffused through every class of its citizens." Ably, sometimes ruthlessly, he lived up to his optimistic view of his native place. To secure the widest power, and to give the most intelligent service, he placed himself at the head of all the committees of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen. "Among the achievements under Quincy's administration was the great extension of Faneuil Hall for market purposes, the reorganization of the departments of Health, Fire and Charitable and

Correctional Institutions. . . . He was exceedingly concerned on behalf of the public schools. Already prior to the organization of Boston as a city he had given much attention to the care of the poor, and, on becoming mayor, put into effect several important measures for their welfare as well as for prisoners." Sanitary conditions were improved; a street cleaning system being established. He left the city with a debt of \$637,000, all spent for the securing to Boston of the New Faneuil Market, the City Wharf, the land north of the new block of stores on North Market Street, and lands west of Charles and Pleasant streets, a part of which is now included in the Public Gardens. The "Quincy Market" improvement involved the reclamation of 125,000 square feet of land and flats, the construction of six new streets at a total cost for land and market house of \$1,100,000. "The increased real estate values, as well as the additional property secured by the city, more than paid for the whole improvement." After five reëlections he withdrew from politics, becoming in 1829 the president of Harvard. A prolific writer, his histories of Boston and Harvard, his numerous monographs and biographies form a storehouse of information much visited by students of local history.

Harrison Gray Otis (October 8, 1765—October 28, 1848) served during 1829-31. Mr. Otis, the third member of the triumvirate which ruled the early city, was a brilliant lawyer and orator, a leader in the Federalist party, member of Congress and both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature, the speaker of one and the president of the other, was judge of the newly established Boston Court of Common Pleas, appointed in 1814, and a member of the United States Senate from 1817 to 1823, resigning to accept the nomination for the governorship. His administration as Mayor was marked by retrenchment rather than by any remarkable expansion of the municipal activities, the depressed financial conditions of that period together with declines in the valuations of assessed property making his course advisable. The old State House was renovated at his suggestion and was used as the city hall. It was also upon the initiative of Mayor Otis that the General Court passed an act which vested in the city of Boston all the property of Suffolk County in the city; thereafter Boston was to provide and maintain all the county buildings and to pay the county charges.

Charles Wells (December 30, 1786—June 3, 1866) served during 1832-1833. Mayor Wells, a master builder, "was elected as a protest of the middle classes against what they thought was the high-handed and extravagant way in which Quincy and Otis had managed the city's affairs." His administration was somewhat featureless. Prosperity had returned to Boston, and with it the municipal expenditures rose. A new Court

House was built, some of the principal streets extended, and sane quarantine regulations were enforced by which Boston was protected from the cholera, then prevalent in the British provinces.

Theodore Lyman, Jr. (February 19, 1792—July 17, 1849) served during 1834-35. He is described as a man "of good understanding, enlarged by a liberal education and extensive travel" with literary tastes and ability, interested in military science, and somewhat less so in politics. He was the author of several books, a general of the Boston Militia, and a member of the Legislature. One of his early acts as Mayor was to call attention to the need of a better water supply—at that time only a part of the city received any water, this being drawn through four main log pipes from Jamaica Pond. Colonel Loammi Baldwin, as special investigator, reported that Farm Pond in Framingham, and Long Pond in Natick were the most available sources. It was not until many years later that anything was done to improve the water supplies of the city in spite of Mayor Lyman's urgency.

"He established the State Reform School at Westboro, and gave it \$22,500 during his lifetime and \$50,000 more in his will." This was the first institution of its kind, and now bears his name. To him is due a school of similar character at Lancaster. He also interested himself in, and was for years the manager of the Farm School for Boys at Thompson's Island. During his administration the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown (now Somerville) was destroyed by a mob in 1834. When in the next year, William Lloyd Garrison was attacked at the office of his paper, "The Liberator," by anti-abolitionists, Mayor Lyman saved him by placing the famous man in his carriage, carrying him to the safety of a jail cell for the night.

Samuel Turrel Armstrong (April 29, 1784—March 26, 1850) served during 1836. He is best known as a publisher, particularly of religious literature, his house on Cornhill Street becoming the mart for the religious works of the orthodox churches. He was captain of the "Warren Phalanx" in Charlestown during the War of 1812, twice a representative of Boston in the Legislature, once Senator from Suffolk, lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth for two terms, and in 1835 acting Governor. While serving as mayor, the new Courthouse was completed. His administration is summed up by one author as consisting of the "erection of an iron fence for the enclosure of three sides of the Common, and the extension of the mall through the burial grounds of Boylston Street."

Samuel Atkins Eliot (March 5, 1798—January 29, 1862) served during 1837-39. Mayor Eliot, a Boston merchant of high character and ability, came from a long line of distinguished ancestors, and was the father of

the late Charles W. Eliot, former president of Harvard University. He came into office while Boston was being visited by a financial depression, which greatly hampered any forward movement by the city. He succeeded in reorganizing the fire department, which was an unpaid volunteer force and without discipline, "More prone to rioting than putting out fires." A compensation law was put into effect in 1837, since which time the fire department has been a paid force. His efforts to reorganize the police department met with failure, although Mayor Eliot did create the first organized day police. "During his term of office, a hospital for the insane was erected and opened in South Boston." A building for the offices of registry and probate was begun, streets were widened and extended; but his recommendations that a new city hall and county jail should be built went unheeded.

Jonathan Chapman (January 23, 1807—May 25, 1848) served during 1840-42. Lawyer, orator, litterateur, he went in for politics and was elected mayor. His platform was retrenchment, and he succeeded in making a reduction of the city debt, but could not reduce the tax rate. Not favoring the building of a new city hall, the old Court House was made over and used by the city (1841). He also employed extra police to prosecute violations of the liquor license laws, although he opposed the laws then in force. An epochal event during his administration was the establishment of steamship connections with Liverpool, England, in 1840 by the Cunard line; and the opening of the Western Railroad to the Hudson River the following year.

Martin Brimmer (June 8, 1793—April 25, 1847) served during 1843-1844. A business man, interested in education, associated with military companies for many years (captain of the Ancient and Honorable Military Company in 1826) he was elected mayor on the Whig ticket. His principal policy was the further reduction of the city debt, in which he succeeded. He backed Horace Mann in his educational ideas, suggested the erection of a new prison for the county of Suffolk to replace the old Leverett Street jail; applied to the General Court for the authority to secure a water supply from ponds in Framingham and Natick.

Thomas Aspinwall Davis (December 11, 1798—November 22, 1845) served during 1845. As a candidate of a new party known as the "Native American Party" (this party was very powerful all over the country, but was short lived) Davis was elected mayor. Failing health brought his resignation after seven months' service. It was not accepted, he being continued as the nominal mayor until his death. Nothing notable was accomplished during his term in office. He made an effort to get a water supply from Long Pond but failed in this endeavor.

Josiah Quincy, Jr. (January 17, 1802—November 2, 1882) served during 1846-48; was a worthy second mayor of the name, having many of the characteristics of his father. Josiah Quincy, Sr., had advocated taking a supply of water for Boston from the Charles River; the son began his term by urging with successful vigor the immediate breaking of ground for what is now the Cochituate water works. Three years later, there was celebrated by the city the introduction in it of the waters of Long Pond (Lake Cochituate). The system of water works cost Boston \$5,000,000, but it gave a water supply to every street in the municipality. Of Quincy it was said, jokingly, "He has written his name in water, yet it will last forever. The people of Boston have never found him dry, and he has taken care that they never shall be." During his terms as mayor, Josiah Quincy, Jr., effected a reorganization of the police, secured the authorization for filling the marsh lands of South Bay, had the double-headed system of school supervision abolished, and signed the contracts for the building of the Suffolk County Jail.

Quincy was a lawyer and financier; member and president of the city council, and president of the Senate before becoming mayor. His business ability had been shown in his handling of the Western and Central Vermont railroads. He was always prominent in civic affairs, the treasurer of the Boston Athenaeum for fifteen years, and by his personal endorsement of the notes of this organization, made possible the erection of the building on Beacon Street.

John Prescott Bigelow (August 25, 1797—July 4, 1872) served during 1849-51. His birthplace was in Groton, the first of the mayors of Boston born outside of the present limits of the city. A graduate of Harvard, he was admitted to the bar in 1818; early became interested in politics; served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives from 1828 to 1833 except for one year. He was Secretary of State from 1836 to 1843; elected Mayor in 1848. Many of the projects begun in Quincy's term of office were completed in Bigelow's, such as the county jail and the water system. There was a new almshouse built on Deer Island, a novel system of telegraphic fire alarms, invented by Doctor W. F. Channing, was installed, and a great celebration of the completion of the railroad connecting Boston with Canada and the Great Lakes.

Benjamin Seaver (April 12, 1795—February 14, 1856) served during 1852-53. The Boston census of 1850 gave Boston's population as 136,881; the valuation of all property amounted to \$180,000,500; the tax levy was \$1,237,000; and the funded debt had risen to more than \$6,000,000. Seaver's, like Bigelow's, administration was marked by an attempt to reduce taxes and the city debt. Neither was successful, although during the

early part of Mayor Seaver's term the tax rate stood at \$6.40 but was later raised to \$7.60. The city debt was reduced \$234,000 through the sale of municipal property. Mayor Seaver is remembered principally through his efforts to secure a building for the public library.

Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith (July 2, 1800—August 20, 1879), served during 1854-55. He was a physician, the son of a doctor, and a litterateur of considerable ability. In 1826, he became port physician, was elected to the State Legislature in 1837 and to the mayor's chair in 1854. The only feature of his reign was the uniting of the "watch" with the police as one organization. He made many suggestions for the benefit of Boston, but unfortunately few were carried out. "He recommended the sale of Quincy Market to private individuals; the erection of an insane asylum on Deer Island; the erection of a tall tower on Beacon Hill for the use of the Fire Telegraph and the Fire Department offices; a forced sale of the city land in order to promote the erection of buildings; advocated the appointment of a physician in each ward to serve the poor and to be paid by the city."

Alexander Hamilton Rice (August 30, 1818—July 22, 1895) served during 1856-57. He followed in the footsteps of his father to become a prominent paper manufacturer and dealer. Among the several offices held by him during his career were: Member of the Boston School Committee, Board of Public Institutions, Common Council, president of the Board of Trade, and first Republican mayor of Boston. "During his term as mayor, the Back Bay was developed, the City Hospital started, and the Boston Public Library dedicated on Boylston Street." He announced at his inaugural that his main endeavor would be to improve the institutions and other affairs of the city without going into costly experiments, an announcement which he carried out in many respects except in the reduction of expenditures. After serving as mayor he was sent to Congress in 1859, remaining there for several terms, declining renomination in 1867. From 1876 to 1878, Rice was Governor of Massachusetts.

Frederick Walker Lincoln, Jr. (February 27, 1817—September 13, 1898) served during 1858-60 and 1863-66. A successful business man, Frederick W. Lincoln managed municipal affairs so well during his first term that after the Civil War, when the post-war conditions in the city called for a strong and conservative leader, he was again elected. He was the first mayor to see the need of gaining Federal aid in the preservation of Boston Harbor; his efforts along these lines were effective, in 1859, in securing the coöperation of the National government in the improvement of ship navigation. Considerable of the land on the Back Bay was annexed from Roxbury during this same year, a part being added to the

Public Gardens. Among the accomplishments of his double administration were: Relief methods enforced in the care of the poor after the war; removal of Fort Hill, the material being used in the Back Bay fill; the new Courthouse occupied; steps taken for the building of the Chestnut Hill Reservoir, the cost of which was over \$2,000,000. The mayor's administration was well managed but expensive. The tax rate rose in 1865 to \$15.80. Yet, in spite of the liberal manner in which the city met the war requirements, the municipal debt, in 1866, was only \$625,000 larger than in 1861, a remarkable achievement. After his retirement, Mr. Lincoln continued to serve the city on such boards as Overseers of the Poor, and Harbor Commissioners, and was one of the Relief Committee after the great Boston fire.

Joseph Milner Wightman (October 19, 1812—January 25, 1850) served during 1861-62. Mayor Wightman was installed in office at a critical period in the affairs of the city and nation. Business was depressed as a natural consequence of the outbreak of the Civil War, and retrenchment in city undertakings had to go hand in hand with large expenditures for war purposes. The mayor managed to secure a supply of money for war objects, particularly to fit out soldiers and provide for their pay and subsistence, and still practice economy in municipal expenditures. In addition to the ordinary expenses of the municipality, the building of a new city hall was begun.

Otis Norcross (November 2, 1811—September 5, 1882) served during 1867. One writer says of Otis Norcross that he "was one of the few mayors who could truthfully say that during his connection with city affairs he never used a dollar of the city money for his own use, never sold the city a dollar's worth of merchandise, never made a contract with the city directly or indirectly, and never put a friend or a relative into office of any kind." Politically, he stood for no increase in the city's indebtedness and against any and all vague uncertain enterprises. His virtues prevented his longer term in office and also the putting through of most of the reforms he advocated. Roxbury was annexed with its 30,000 inhabitants during his administration. The extravagance which marked all business and municipal affairs after the Civil War, was also felt by Boston, so that in spite of all retrenchments, the city's annual expenditures rose to \$8,000,000 in 1867.

Nathaniel Bradstreet Shurtleff (June 29, 1810—October 17, 1874) served during 1868-70. "Shurtleff is more known for his antiquarian labors than for his work as mayor, although during his mayoralty many new streets and much territory was added to Boston." He was the author of "A Topographical and Historical Description of Boston," and

he edited the Massachusetts Colony and the New Plymouth Colony records. In addition to street extension, Mayor Shurtleff's administration was marked by little else than a failing endeavor to keep down the municipal expenditures. In 1869, these expenditures totaled \$12,000,000; the tax rate was \$13.70; and there was an increase in the city debt of more than \$2,000,000.

William Gaston (October 3, 1820—January 19, 1894) served during 1871-72 as the twentieth mayor. He was a man of high character, distinguished ancestry, a lawyer and leader of men. He had been at the front during the Civil War, a State Senator in 1868, Mayor of Boston in 1871 and in 1875 was elected Governor, the first to be chosen of the Democratic party since the formation of the Republican party. His administration as mayor was marked by the establishment of the Board of Health; the extension of the water system when the supply from Lake Cochituate proved insufficient; the establishment of the new Department for the Survey and Inspection of Buildings; and the Great Fire of 1872.

Henry Lillie Pierce (August 23, 1825—December 17, 1896) served during ten months of 1873 and again in 1878. "To Henry L. Pierce belongs the distinction of building up a small chocolate mill into the largest of its kind in America and having made the name of Walter Baker known all over the world." His short service as mayor was brought about by his resignation to become a member of Congress. Upon him devolved the direction of the city's affairs immediately after the Great Fire, when it was necessary to straighten and widen the streets of the burned district before rebuilding, and to do this with the least expense possible. The Fire Department underwent a reorganization, with the mayor holding the appointment of the three heads of the department. Charlestown, West Roxbury, and Brighton were annexed to Boston at this time (effective January, 1874), Charlestown having a population of 30,000, Brighton of 5,000 and West Roxbury of 9,000. The expenditures during the ten months' term amounted to more than \$18,000,000, mostly due to the street improvements which had to be made then or never.

In 1878, in response to a petition, Mr. Pierce again ran for mayor and was elected. His principal act during this second term was the reorganization of the police department, which then consisted of 715 men who were appointed by the mayor, with the approval of the aldermen. Thereafter the police were under a commission.

Samuel Crocker Cobb (May 22, 1826—February 18, 1891) served during 1874-76. Mr. Cobb was one of those merchants who carried on for a long period a foreign trade with Europe and South America. He was elected mayor by a large vote, and when renominated, was elected

unanimously, a unique record. Among his recommendations for the city were, a revision of the charter which met with no concurrence; the organization of a system of public parks. He established a paid water board, also a board of registrars of voters. He also helped to get passed an act limiting the indebtedness of municipalities. His firm stand for economy in city expenditures was effective in preventing a further enlargement of the city debt, while the tax rate was reduced to \$15.60 in 1874 and to lower figures in 1875 and 1876.

Frederick Octavius Prince (January 18, 1818—June 6, 1899) served during 1877, and again from 1879 to 1881. His forefathers had been prominent in the affairs of Boston, so that it was natural that Mr. Prince, after serving in the Legislature for many years both in the House and Senate, should become the mayor of Boston. During his first term, appropriations were made for sewers, a new building for the English High and Latin schools, and for a Back Bay Park. His second term marked the completion of the projects of his first. Of the new projects, that of the erection of the new Court House and of the Public Library were the most important. Mr. Prince was another of the economy mayors, and therefore none too popular.

Samuel Abbott Green (March 16, 1830—December 5, 1918) served during 1882. Dr. Green was for ten years the city physician before being elected mayor. He was interested in the promotion of the public park system, suggesting that a large part of the Franklin Fund might be used by the city "for a purpose kindred to public parks." He endeavored to bring out the best in the public school system and public libraries. Aside from the removal of the police commissioners from city hall, there was little that occurred during his mayoralty worthy of special comment.

Albert Palmer (January 17, 1831—May 21, 1877) served during 1883. A self-made man and financier, he entered politics in 1872 as a member of the House of Representatives; was in the State Senate from 1875 to 1880; changed his party affiliations and was chosen mayor as a Democrat. Through his efforts, Franklin Park was laid out, otherwise there were no municipal undertakings originating during his term of office.

Augustus Pearl Martin (November 23, 1835—March 13, 1902) served during 1884. General Martin, his title won at Little Round Top in the Civil War, had an uneventful term in office, his work consisting mainly of carrying on those works begun under former officers. Possibly the civil service law enacted in 1884, and the charter of 1885 express the desires of the man better than what he accomplished in the way of economy.

Hugh O'Brien, a native of Ireland (July 13, 1827—August 1, 1895) served during 1885-88. From 1875 to 1883 Mr. O'Brien was on the Board of Aldermen almost continuously. His popularity was shown in his many reëlections to both the aldermen's and the mayor's offices. "He was a strong advocate of public parks, and a powerful argument of his caused the city to acquire the Franklin Park lands in West Roxbury, Back Bay lands, and the large tract at City Point. Always a champion of the laboring classes, he was most potent in passing ordinances regulating the pay of the men working for city contractors. He endeavored to limit municipal expenditures so that the amount to be raised by taxes would be greatly decreased. During his four terms in office, he showed great decision in making the necessary changes in offices and in controlling the expenses made by changes in business methods."

Thomas Norton Hart (January 20, 1829) served 1889-90 and 1900-01. A business man and banker, Mr. Hart performed his duties as mayor in accordance with his training and common sense. He recommended a sharp reduction in the number of city departments; then about fifty, with the consolidation of the entire street, sewer, bridge and lamp, health and building departments into one department of public works. Further, he wanted all the charitable institutions and relief works placed in the hands of three salaried members of a single board. He fought excessive expenditures for parks; advocated the building of a subway, but not with public funds, and objected to the further increase of the city debt. Naturally these ideas were not popular, and Mr. Hart had great difficulty in bringing about a strictly business administration of his office. This did not prevent, however, his nomination for the mayoralty in 1899 and his election for a second period in office.

It was during Mr. Hart's second administration that it was brought out that Boston's share in the Commonwealth debt for undertakings by metropolitan boards, by 1900, totaled \$37,565,912. This was, of course, a State debt, and it was thought that Boston was liable only for the payment of annual assessments, and the large amount showed nowhere on the city's books. "Under Mayor Hart, the memorable settlement was effected with the Commonwealth for Boston's water supply system, which passed into the control of the Metropolitan Water Board in 1898. It was the largest financial transaction to which the city had been a part. In 1901, the administration was occupied with the rising costs of the schools, streets, new bridges estimated to cost \$2,750,000, the working of the eight hour law for city employees, etc."

Nathan Matthews, Jr. (March 28, 1854), served during 1891-94. He brought to the mayoralty a mind trained in the intricacies of municipal government (he had been a lecturer on this subject at Harvard). The

valedictory address of Mayor Matthews was one of the first, and probably the best, general description of the city administration. His term in office was notable because of his "insight into the organization and functions of city government, his grasp of municipal finance, his outspokenness in condemning what to him seemed improper and wrong." He opposed Mayor Hart's suggestion that the tax and debt limits of the municipality should be increased. He reduced the number of executive departments, brought others, particularly that of streets, into closer relations, "systematized street cleaning, brought the ferries under one head, and wire inspectors under the fire department. Many school houses were erected and the Tremont Street subway built." Mr. Matthews stood for longer terms of office for the mayor and executive officers, opposed the bi-cameral system of the legislative branches of the city government, objected to the interference by the State in city affairs, advocating the abolition of the State Board of Police. Of the numerous constructive measures passed during his term of office, there is not space to record. His administration was that of a practical student, of a man who was ahead of his times yet not visionary, an economist who actually enforced economy in the spending of city moneys. In 1907-09, he became the first chairman of the Boston Finance Commission.

Edwin Upton Curtis (March 26, 1861—March 28, 1922), served during 1895. A lawyer by profession, Edwin Upton Curtis early entered politics and held many offices, including city clerk of Boston, secretary of the Republican City Committee, mayor of Boston, Assistant United States Treasurer at Boston, Collector of Customs, and a member of the Metropolitan Park Commission. "In his inaugural, he advocated the importance of special provisions for the educational buildings and facilities, the desirability of a Board of Election Commissioners (the cumbersome election machinery of that time consisted of the mayor, the Board of Aldermen, the city clerk, the registrars of voters, the superintendent of public buildings, with a divided responsibility and great expense); the policy of having special examinations of the city's financial system and resources, and the making of provision for public parks and other needs." A Board of Election, appointed for a term of five years, consisting of four commissioners chosen from each of the two great political parties replaced the former system. Many of his recommendations failed to secure the necessary approval but laid the foundations for changes which came later. He had difficulties in making the fixed tax rate of \$9.00 to cover the city's expenses, and secured the appointment of a commission of citizens to look into the finances of the city and report their findings, paving the way for the Finance Commission.

Josiah Quincy (October 15, 1859—September 8, 1919), served during 1896-99. There is probably no instance in the history of municipalities where three members of the same family were elected mayors. There is also a striking likeness in the administrations of these three men. All were students of the theory of municipal government; they seemed motivated by a like desire to have both the rich and poor to share in the benefits conferred by the city; they were, without exception, positive, courageous and progressive. Josiah Quincy, the first, gave Boston the Quincy Market and the lands surrounding it; Josiah Quincy, the second, secured a supply of water for city purposes from Cochituate Pond; Josiah Quincy, the third, is remembered for the institutions, the system of public baths, gymnasias and playgrounds and other progressive measures for the benefit of the masses, which he either instituted or aided. The best story of Mayor Quincy's administration is to be found in his address delivered at the seventy-fifth anniversary of the city.

Mr. Quincy was a graduate of Harvard, a lawyer, member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1887, 1888, 1890 and 1891. He was chairman of the Democratic State Committee in 1891-92, and again in 1906. In 1893 he was First Assistant Secretary of State for six months. In 1906 he became a member of the Boston Rapid Transit Commission.

Patrick Andrew Collins (March 12, 1844—September 14, 1905) served during 1902-05 (eight months of the latter year). General Collins was one of Boston's great Irishmen with a romantic career that, starting in a fish market, extended through mining, carting, upholstering and other labors, until, self-educated, he became a lawyer, public official, and leader. He had a distinguished career of four years in the State Legislature, six years in the National Congress, four years as United States Consul General at London, England. In his first address as mayor, he said: "The chief trouble with commercial Boston is that it seeks to do all its business on one square mile of land. The result is congestion, very high rents within the area, and somewhat ragged prospects beyond. More business centers of the first class . . . will make Boston a better and greater city. For this purpose I may be counted an expansionist of the most extreme type." In line with his ideas he endeavored to have the city hall relocated outside of the congested business district, but like most of his expansionist ideas, this failed to gain approval during his reign. "He favored home rule in city affairs; opposed enlargement of taxes and drafts for the maintenance of parks and sewers; held out firmly against raising the salaries of city employees and pensions to their widows. He stood against injuries to the historic interest of the city, such as encroachments on the Common, tearing down the Old South Meeting House, changing Copp's Hill or the Granary Burying-ground." He died while in office,

being succeeded for the unfinished term by Daniel A. Whelan, chairman of the Board of Aldermen. Of General Collins, Grover Cleveland said: "In public life he was strictly honest and sincerely devoted to the responsibilities which office-holding involves."

James Francis Fitzgerald (February 11, 1863), served during 1906-07 and again during 1910-13. As a business man, whose particular interest was real estate, Mr. Fitzgerald became one of the most vigorous boosters of Boston who ever sat in the mayor's chair. "He left no stone unturned to make Boston one of the great seaports of the coast, as well as a greater manufacturing and industrial center. In and out of New England he advocated the bringing of new steamship lines to Boston, the improvement of harbor facilities, the building of better wharves, and the creation of many lines of civic work that would make Boston bigger and busier." His own words sum up his career as mayor: "I have not been content merely to fulfill the letter of the duties of the Mayor's office, but I have endeavored by every means to make the city better and more prosperous." For his service as mayor he had been prepared by membership in the Common Council, in the State Senate, and as a member of Congress.

His first administration was devoted, mainly, to the financial burdens of the city, the reorganization of the street department, the multiplication of institution buildings, including a hospital and a new city hall, and the creation of a financial commission. Elected again in 1910 for a term of four years, Mr. Fitzgerald was enabled to carry out many of the ideas which had failed of approval during his first administration. He had also the advantage of starting his second term under better charter conditions (1909). Finances were again the subject of discussion and legislation. There were many changes of offices and officers made under the new charter. The mayor gave much time to city planning, motor fire apparatus, garbage disposal, playground extension, high pressure fire system, laborer's retirement plan, the City Hall annex, and to new municipal buildings.

George Albee Hibbard (October 17, 1864—May 29, 1910) served during 1908-09, in the interval between the two administrations of Mr. Fitzgerald, whom he defeated for office in 1908. Mayor Hibbard had political experience as a State representative, and missed election as State Treasurer by a single vote to fill out the unexpired term of Henry M. Phillips. In 1890 he was made postmaster of Boston. He gave the city a thoroughly business-like administration, one that was non-partisan and economical. He brought about during his two years in office a decrease in loans from \$11,292,300 to \$8,268,300, as well as a million dollar saving in expenditures. The average annual increase of such expenditures through-

out the preceding decade had been 4.3 per cent. There were 945 fewer city employees (excluding the school and police departments) at the end of his term than when it began. His honest and economical administration failed to bring about his reelection to office. In 1909, November 2, the voters accepted the amended Boston City Charter, which provided for a City Council of nine, and a mayoralty term of four years.

James Michael Curley (November 20, 1874) served during 1914-17, and 1922-25. He had been a member of both the old and the new City Council and a member of Congress before being elected mayor, an experience which stood him in good stead. From the beginning he was enthusiastic in the support of the development of Boston industries, and the larger utilization of the port. He stood for the gradual cancellation of the city debt by the substitution of a "pay-as-you-go policy" over against the old method of borrowing and running up a heavy interest charge. He brought about the segregated budget system to have supervision of all details and methods in preparing annual appropriation schedules of the departments. "The total debt (exclusive of the Rapid Transit loan) decreased \$5,799,141; the number of city employees under the control of the mayor was reduced by 117, while the departmental expenditures increased but 11.93 per cent for the four years." Among the recommendations during his first term were: monthly conferences on city planning, the establishment of a central purchasing department in charge of an expert buyer, the abolition of the correctional institutions for boys, more durable street construction, etc. The account of his second term will be given later.

Andrew James Peters (April 3, 1872) served during 1918-21. Mr. Peters was another of those who came to the mayoralty after several years in Congress. His plurality was large, and he took up the reins of government pledged to a non-partisan administration, one in which there would be the complete political freedom of the city's employees, and their classification according to the value of their services. He was compelled by increasing costs and decreasing revenue to secure the raising of the tax limit for city purposes from \$6.52 to \$9.52 in 1918 and 1919, and to \$10.52 in 1920 and to \$11.00 for 1921, all of which were granted by the Legislature. "The tax rate went to \$21.20 in 1918, and by 1921 reached the maximum of \$24.70, the mounting budget of the school committee being responsible for \$3.55 of the increase." This was not, however, as high as rates had risen in other large cities. During Mayor Peters' administration special attention was given to street improvement resulting in the construction, or repaving, of 313 miles of roadway and 75 miles of sidewalks. Two steel ferryboats were purchased and the others repaired.

Two pumping stations of the high pressure service were completed; also new public buildings costing \$1,582,000. An ordinance was adopted merging the control of the charitable institutions and the penal institutions department in one body, in charge of a single paid commissioner. Mayor Peters strongly advocated the consolidation of the Metropolitan District under one governmental head.

James Michael Curley was again installed in office in the year Boston celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, and at once renewed his campaign for the expansion of Boston's commerce and industry. To this end he established a Bureau of Commerce and Industry, which has since functioned to the advantage of the city. He also established a municipal employment bureau which greatly reduced the number of the city's unemployed. The placement of ex-service men was a particular concern of the bureau, and greatly aided the Soldiers' Relief Department.

Mayor Curley's valedictory address, published in the 1925 edition of the Boston Year Book, is one of the best summaries of the conditions and progress of the municipality of the present day, extant, and is too lengthy to be reprinted here. He spoke, in it, of the remarkable advances Boston had made during the years covered by his double term; of its financial strength and standing, the lowness, comparatively, of its tax rate with the large and continued expenditures. He went on in his valedictory, to give in detail the present status of the work, and some of the history of the Health Department, Boston City Hospital, Education, Protection of Life and Property, Patriotic Shrines, Capital and Labor, City Planning, Rapid Transit, Public Morals, and others. One may disagree with some of the suggestions offered and the criticisms made, an occasional prophecy may not appeal, but as a whole, one cannot but be impressed with the greatness of Boston, the magnitude of the problems which confront its government, and feel something of the importance of its destiny to the Commonwealth. And surely, this condensed account of the administrations of the mayors of Boston must bring a realization of the good fortune of the municipality in the sort of men who have served it in the mayoralty over more than a century.

Malcolm E. Nichols (May 8, 1876) served as a newspaper reporter and political editor until 1908, having been a member of Boston Common Council, 1905-06; the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1907-09; the Senate, 1914, 1917-19, during the last term serving as chairman of the taxation committee. He has been school house commissioner of Boston, chairman of the Boston Transit Department, chairman of the Rent and Housing Commission, fuel administrator of Boston, 1920-21, and United States Collector of Internal Revenue, Boston, 1921-25. He was elected on a non-partisan ticket, and is serving in a term expiring in 1929.



VIEW OF THE CITY OF BOSTON
Drawn on the spot by His Excellency Governor Pownall

It is worthy of note that for 125 years the civic center of Boston has changed but slightly from its original location. "Until 1830 the mayor and council occupied the old stone Court House, also known as Johnson Hall, on School Street. From 1830 to 1841 the old State House at the head of State Street served as the City Hall. From 1841 until the present time, the site of municipal administration has remained in School Street, and for more than fifty years in the present City Hall, dedicated in 1865, and its annex (completed and first occupied in 1914) located on the only lot of land belonging to the city in Boston proper which has been continuously devoted to public uses since the early days of the town."



CHAPTER VII.

COURTS AND LAWYERS IN METROPOLITAN BOSTON.

By Frank W. Grinnell, Secretary Massachusetts Bar Association.

In the "Memorial History of Boston" (1630-1880) there was a chapter by Mr. John T. Morse, Jr., on "The Bench and Bar in Boston." It contained much interesting and entertaining information, mainly biographical, about leading figures in the courts of the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries. The plan of the following chapter is somewhat different. An attempt will be made to give a brief, readable story of the development of our courts and bar and their relation to the history of Massachusetts, and to weave in the biographical material to show the influence of some individual judges and lawyers.

The Function of Lawyers in the History of Government—This chapter is not intended in any sense as a complacent eulogy of the legal profession. It is prepared with a full realization that lawyers have as many faults as other people, and are commonly regarded as having more. The history of every great court and of every great bar has been attended with constant and violent popular and political abuse of the profession. Yet it is not only fair, but it is essential to a clear understanding of the facts, for us all to realize that in the great movement for civil liberty the intellectual stimulus and the best expression of principles which have ultimately stirred men to self-sacrifice have generally (although, of course, not invariably) come from lawyers. It was so in England and it was so in Massachusetts.

This is not an accident. The explanation is that the recognition of the soundest principles in a community comes about as the result of controversy and the minds of lawyers are habitually trained to controversy, which is the basis of the profession and its science. And just as the development of that science has progressed as the result of the recorded history of private litigation under our system of reported opinions which are studied and criticized by the bar, so this controversial training results naturally in concentrating the imagination and critical faculties (both positive and negative) of lawyers upon the study of the recorded history of principles of liberty, more closely and keenly than those of other men. This accounts for the prominence of lawyers at every stage of development in our democracy.*

*It also accounts for a considerable amount of the prejudice against lawyers, for while they are so trained to controversy that they accept it as one of the conditions of life and do not take it too seriously, yet many people dislike controversy and are irritated by it, and incidentally with the bar, which is a necessary incident of it.

It is not a thing that is peculiarly to the credit of the bar, although many individual lawyers, some of whom will be described in this story, deserve special credit. The credit belongs to the training necessarily incident to the profession, the main value of which is to serve the public by sharpening the faculties of men for those controversies which are a part of the lot of humanity. Accordingly the prominence of lawyers is not necessarily to be deplored. It is not to be regarded as a matter of personal or "class" privilege, in spite of all the complacent remarks which find their way into the mouths of after-dinner speakers of the profession from time to time. The thing should be studied and understood and, when it is so studied, the fact which stands out in bold relief is that the prominence of lawyers in a democracy is the result of an absolutely impersonal force which cannot be avoided. That force is the training needed to study and understand, and apply principles as law. Accordingly, the more the community realizes the essential importance and the useful possibilities of this force of training in the study of principles in its highest development, the more public service and value will the State get from the bar, and the more confidence will be shown in allowing competent judges on the bench to give the best service of which they are capable instead of being restricted by petty rules inspired by distrust.

Historical Background—The Colonial Period—As Mr. Morse explained, in the colonial period from 1630 to the time of the Province Charter in 1692 there were a number of courts presided over by laymen who administered justice with the assistance of the clergy according to the "Law of God" as found in the Old Testament. There was no bar because there were no trained lawyers and the people distrusted lawyers and did not want them.

Some of the laymen and clergymen, however, had studied law in England, notably Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who drew up the "Body of Liberties" of 1641, which was a combination of a bill of rights and a compilation of statutes, and constituted the earliest approach to a constitution in the modern sense of the word. The Trading Company Charter of 1629 also contained a clause conferring upon all in the colony "all the liberties and immunities" of Englishmen. This clause was retained in the Province Charter of 1692, which later served as a constitution until the Revolution.

The original purpose of the "Body of Liberties," however, was, as Winthrop described it, to "raise up laws by practice and custom," or in other words to develop a local "Common law" of Massachusetts, and many of our present constitutional provisions date back to this "Body of Liberties" as well as to the two charters. The "liberties and immunities" of Englishmen were vigorously asserted and developed later by James Otis and others as we shall see.

The Provincial Period—After the Province Charter, several attempts were made by the Legislature to create a judicial system, which were vetoed by the Privy Council in England, and it was not until 1699 that the "Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery" was finally created, which has had a continuous existence to the present time, its name being changed after the constitution was adopted to "Supreme Judicial Court." With the creation of this court the development of a "government of laws and not of men" may be said to have begun, and while there were at first very few trained lawyers, either on or off the bench, gradually a bar began to appear in the 18th century, and by 1760 there were a number of lawyers of marked ability.

One important provision did not appear in the province charter because it did not appear even in the law of England until the Act of Settlement of 1701, which provided that English judges should hold office during good behavior instead of during the pleasure of the King. The absence of the provision for judicial tenure during good behavior, which has stabilized the government of England ever since 1701, raised a dramatic and important controversy in Massachusetts in 1773. The assemblies of the royal provinces by various means tried to secure this reform; but the Lords of Trade resisted because permanent colonial judicial tenure would tend "to lessen that just Dependence which the Colonies ought to have upon the Government of the Mother Country."[†]

This was specified by Jefferson as one of the acts of tyranny of George III in the Declaration of Independence in the following sentence:

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the terms of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

The Foundations of American Constitutional Law—The year 1761 may be said to mark the beginning of the intellectual history of our modern American doctrine of constitutional law which emerged from the Revolution. James Otis stood out as the first leading American thinker in this movement and his views of government were circulated throughout the Colonies in the next decade by the political shrewdness of Samuel Adams, who collaborated with him. The event which started this train of constitutional thinking was the argument against the Writs of Assistance in 1761.

The commercial interests of the colonies were opposed to the English regulations of commerce. The import duties, particularly on molasses, needed in large quantities for New England rum, which was also needed then, were habitually evaded. The sporting chances of smuggling have always attracted traders, as well as many ladies and gentle-

[†]Channing, "History of United States," Vol. II, p. 223, note 4.

men of our own time, and the feelings of independence and resentment at English trade restrictions added a patriotic zest to the sport. This evasion led to an application to the Massachusetts Court for the issuance of Writs of Assistance, or general warrants of search and seizure, to help the customs officers. A case arose in which the application for the issuance of such a writ was opposed by the merchants interested in rum and molasses, and Oxenbridge Thacher and James Otis appeared as counsel in opposition. Otis resigned his position as solicitor general in order to appear, and refused all fees. The argument of Otis was made to the full bench of the Superior Court of Judicature on the question of law as to the power to issue the writs. It was also elaborated soon after in pamphlets which circulated throughout the colonies. In speaking of Magna Charta, Pollock and Maitland, in their "History of English Law," say "in brief it means this: that the king is and shall be below the law." Thinking close to human nature and its tendencies and with prophetic instincts, Otis carried this principle of Magna Charta further for the protection of the people. He said, in substance, legislators are men, and legislators, like kings, must be below the law. But how shall they be below the law? He answered, there are certain fundamental principles which must be recognized even by Parliament, and these principles are applied by independent and impartial courts of justice.

The case of the Writs of Assistance was heard in the council room of the Old State House in Boston with Chief Justice Hutchinson presiding and the court in their scarlet robes. The scene was described by John Adams and is now painted on the wall of the Massachusetts State House, as suggested by him in a letter to William Tudor in 1817. Following the restrained legal argument of his senior, Thacher, Otis, in the words of Lord Acton, "lifted the question to a different level in one of the memorable speeches in political history," and as Judge Holmes has said, "laid the foundations of American constitutional law." He argued that the acts of trade violated the Province Charter and if the writs were authorized by Parliament, then the statute was void as violating the constitutional rights of an Englishman to protection in his house. His argument caught the imagination of those who heard him, and, among them the young John Adams, who described himself as "lost in admiration" and "looking like a short, thick archbishop of Canterbury." The presence of John Adams, and the way in which Otis fired his imagination, is one of the fortunate coincidences in American history. Otis, who was then about thirty-six, became at once a hero and a target for abuse. He was elected to the Legislature and, with Samuel Adams, was the leader of the "patriot party" for the next eight or ten years.

Judicial Tenure of Office—In referring to the Province Charter, I called attention to the fact that it did not provide for the tenure of judges

"during good behavior," as that provision for the protection of the people of England against the Crown had not then been secured even in England. The removal of a judge by the royal Governor in New York, for personal reasons, in 1735, also attracted attention throughout the colonies to the importance of an independent judiciary. This matter came to a head in Massachusetts in 1772. The English Act of 1701 securing judges in their tenure did not extend to America. The fact that King George III undertook to pay the salaries of the Massachusetts judges threatened to put the administration of the law completely under royal control.

After this, and with the New York experience, and doubtless other incidents in mind in addition to the accounts of the brutality of the English political judges under the Stuarts which appear in the "State Trials," of which John Adams had a copy, it is natural that when he was selected, in 1779, as the draftsman of the Massachusetts Constitution, he should write the twenty-ninth article of the Bill of Rights, one of the most famous and influential articles in any American Constitution.

It is essential to the preservation of the rights of every individual, his life, liberty, property and character, that there be an impartial interpretation of the laws, and administration of justice. It is the right of every citizen to be tried by judges as free, impartial and independent as the lot of humanity will admit. It is, therefore, not only the best policy, but for the security of the rights of the people and of every citizen, that the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court should hold their offices as long as they behave themselves well; and that they should have honorable salaries ascertained and established by standing laws.

This article reflects the views expressed by Otis with dramatic force at an earlier stage. The article has become famous, not because of the provision for tenure; that had appeared also in the Virginia Constitution in 1776 and came from the English Act of Settlement. The fame of the article rests on Adams' concise explanation of the reason for the tenure and his picture of the American ideal of a judge and of the standards for the administration of justice. By Chapter III of the Constitution, the tenure "during good behavior" was applied to all Massachusetts judges except justices of the peace. Most American states in the wave of theoretical "democracy" which swept over the country in the middle of the nineteenth century, abandoned the practical principle of an appointive bench with tenure during good behavior. Their experience with an elective bench with short terms has been such that there are strong evidences today in different parts of the country of a gradually growing sentiment in favor of returning to the substance of the principle of the twenty-ninth article which stands behind the whole judicial system of the federal courts. By drafting these provisions, by his courageous undertaking of the unpopular defense of the British soldiers in 1771 in order that they might have a fair trial, and by the later appointment of

John Marshall as chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, John Adams set and explained a standard for the American bench and bar, the present and future influence of which is incalculable.

The Constitutional Conventions of 1780 and 1788—In order to give a proper historical background to any account of Massachusetts lawyers and to balance the picture by excluding the idea that the lawyers have monopolized the stage, a brief reference to some of the commonly forgotten history of our State and Federal constitutions is needed.

We must turn back to Thomas Allen, "the fighting parson of Berkshire County," who fired the first shot at the battle of Bennington. It is probable that the existence of the Massachusetts Constitution owes as much to Thomas Allen as an initiative force as it owes to John Adams and Theophilus Parsons, as draftsmen and constructive thinkers.

"In 1777 James Warren wrote to Elbridge Gerry about the movement for a constitution. He said that 'no new form of government is yet adopted. Everybody seems to wish for it, and a number are incessantly moving and pressing for it. What hinders, I don't know, except downright laziness.' This apathy or lack of energy seems to have developed into a strong opposition by the time of the meeting of the Convention of 1779, for a spirit of obstruction appears to run through all the proceedings of that body"

The group of hard-headed New Englanders in the Berkshire Hills known as the "Berkshire Constitutionalists" had thought enough about human nature to realize that while they had removed King George III from the American throne, they had put King Voting Majority in his place. They also realized that, as a practical matter, the power behind the throne of King Voting Majority in any general legislative body did then, and would in future, reside to a great extent in the more thickly settled and commercially prosperous seaboard counties of Massachusetts. They feared this new king, and this power, as they feared George III, so far as the results on the western counties of Massachusetts were concerned. They did not deceive themselves with mere glittering generalities of a theoretical democracy. They knew they were facing a condition and not a theory, and they turned for leadership to a man who had a rare power of statement. This man was Thomas Allen, and he had evidently read and pondered on the pamphlets of James Otis.

He led them, not in a violently aggressive movement to disrupt the *de facto* government then existing, but in a respectful and firm demand for constructive action as a condition precedent to their acceptance of the government. The course which they followed was to demand a constitution or "compact" of government upon which they could rely for pro-

*Haynes' unpublished manuscript in Harvard College Library.



Increase Sumner

ASSOCIATE JUSTICE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT, 1782-97
GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1797-99

(From a portrait by Major John Johnson, painted in the robes worn by the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court until about 1792. In 1797, after he was chosen governor the portrait was retouched and the hair redressed and powdered as he then wore it. See Memoir of Increase Sumner by his son W. H. Sumner).

tection before they would allow the courts to sit in Berkshire County. In a statement written by Allen, they gave their reasons for demanding it. Their energy and determination, and, undoubtedly, Allen's power of statement, finally resulted in the calling of the convention in 1779 which framed the Massachusetts Constitution.

In order to understand the exact significance of these forgotten proceedings it is necessary to read a few of the paragraphs written by Thomas Allen in the Pittsfield resolutions during the years between 1776-1779. In May, 1776, a petition, drawn by Allen, from the town of Pittsfield was sent to the General Court sitting in Watertown, reciting that:

When they considered that the revolution in England afforded the nation but a very imperfect redress of grievances—the nation, being transported with extravagant joy in getting rid of one tyrant forgot to provide against another—and how every man by nature has the seeds of tyranny deeply implanted within him, so that nothing short of Omnipotence can eradicate them.

That when they considered that now is the only time we have reason ever to expect for securing our liberties and the liberties of future posterity upon a permanent foundation that no length of time can undermine,—though they were filled with pain and anxiety at so much as seeming to oppose public councils, yet, with all these considerations in our view, love of virtue, freedom and posterity prevailed upon us a second time *to suspend the courts of justice in this country.*

That the first step to be taken by a people in such a State for the enjoyment or restoration of civil government among them is the formation of a fundamental constitution as the basis and groundwork of legislation.

That, knowing the strong bias of human nature to tyranny and despotism, we have nothing else in view but to provide for posterity against the wanton exercise of power, which cannot otherwise be done than by the formation of a fundamental constitution.

Let it not be said by future posterity that in this great, this noble, this glorious contest, we made no provision against tyranny among ourselves. (Smith's "History of Pittsfield," Chaps. XVIII to XX.)

Such were the reasons for refusing to allow the highest court of Massachusetts to sit in Berkshire County.

In all the controversy that has raged about the so-called judicial "usurpation" in what is called the "power" of the courts to disregard unconstitutional legislation, this story is seldom mentioned. Here we have, not lawyers, but a group of back-country laymen who refused to allow the courts to sit in their county until a constitution of fundamental law was framed which the courts should apply directly as a test of legislation and legal government. They reduced to practice the philosophical arguments of Otis, demanding the American common-law doctrine of supremacy of law, not as a matter of abstract reasoning, but as a practical condition precedent to the administration of the government, twenty-seven years before John Marshall wrote his opinion in *Marbury v. Madison* in 1803. Furthermore, this action was based on clearly ex-

pressed reasons which contain the basic ideas of Marshall's famous opinion. The sentences of Thomas Allen, quoted above, show conclusively that he and his associates were not considering the matter in the light of judicial right or judicial power but in the light of judicial duty. We must remember the sentence of Otis, "The end of government being the good of mankind points out its great duties." It is only in the light of judicial duty that this subject can be clearly discussed and understood.

John Adams was selected by the convention to prepare a draft constitution, the subject of which, somewhat revised, was recommended by the convention, submitted to the people of the towns throughout Massachusetts, which then included Maine, and was discussed and adopted by this popular vote. The last article of this constitution, Chapter VI, Article XI, provided, and still provides:

This form of government shall be enrolled on parchment and deposited in the secretary's office, and be a part of the laws of the land; and printed copies thereof shall be *prefixed* to the book containing the laws of this Commonwealth, in all future editions of said law.

Thus making it the duty of every court to read the constitution before it reads a single statutory word, following out the provision in the eighteenth article of the bill of rights already quoted that:

"The people have a right to require of their lawgivers and *magistrates* an exact and constant observance of them ['the fundamental principles of the constitution']."

Slavery existed in Massachusetts at this time and slave sales were advertised in newspapers while the convention was sitting. In 1782-83 a case involving a claim to a slave came before the Supreme Judicial Court. Chief Justice Cushing, with the concurrence of his associates, charged the jury that:

As to the doctrine of slavery . . . that (it is true) has been heretofore countenanced by the Province Laws formerly, but nowhere is it expressly enacted or established. The idea of slavery is inconsistent with our own conduct and Constitution; and there can be no such thing as perpetual servitude of a rational creature, unless his liberty is forfeited by some criminal conduct or given up by personal consent or contract. (Mass. Law. Quart., May, 1917, pp. 437-38.)

This case has excited interest because of its relation to the history of slavery, but its importance in the history of constitutional law has not attracted particular attention. The entry of the charge in the notebook of the chief justice never appears to have been printed until 1874, when it was produced by Chief Justice Gray. The case is mentioned here, not because of its relation to slavery, but because it shows that William Cushing and his associates, who had been members of the constitutional convention, began at once as judges, after the convention, to apply con-

stitutional principles *directly as law* at a time when the Legislature did not have the political courage to deal with slavery by statute.

It is an interesting fact that, at about the same time, in 1782, in Virginia, George Wythe, as chancellor, pronounced a legislative act unconstitutional in *Com. v. Catron* (4 Call. 5).

Thus Massachusetts became an American Commonwealth under a government checked and balanced by a division into the three coördinate departments—legislative, executive and judicial. This avoided what Jefferson referred to in his "Notes on the State of Virginia" in 1781, when he said, as to concentration of all power in a legislative body:

One hundred and seventy-three (legislative) despots would surely be as oppressive as one. . . . An *elective* despotism was not the government we fought for. (Madison, in "Federalist," No. 48; Jefferson, Ford's Ed., Vol. III, pp. 68-70.)

The next step was the ratification of the Federal Constitution in Massachusetts in 1788, and here Parsons comes to the front again as a constructive thinker.

John Adams was in England. The opposition was finally overcome by the suggestion of amendments to the first congress. These amendments, of which the first contained the substance of the present Tenth Amendment, were proposed by Hancock but, although it was not generally known at the time, were drawn by Parsons. Here again also we meet the common sense of Berkshire County in the person of Colonel Jonathan Smith, a farmer, who, toward the end of the debate, rose to the occasion as follows:

Mr. President, I am a plain man and get my living by the plough. I am not used to speak in public, but I beg your leave to say a few words to my brother plough-joggers in this house. I have lived in a part of the country where I have known the worth of good government by the want of it. There was a black cloud that rose in the east last winter, and spread over the west. (Here Mr. Wedgery interrupted: Mr. President, I wish to know what the gentleman means by the east?) I mean, sir, the county of Bristol. The cloud rose there, and burst upon us, and produced a dreadful effect. It brought on a state of anarchy, and that leads to tyranny. . . . It is better to have one tyrant than so many at once.

Now, Mr. President, when I saw this Constitution, I found that it was a cure for these disorders. It was such a thing as we wanted. I got a copy of it and read it over and over. I had been a member of the Convention to form our own State Constitution, and had learnt something of the checks and balances of power, and I found them all here. I did not go to any lawyer and ask his opinion; we have no lawyer in our town, and we do well enough without. I formed my own opinion, and was pleased with this Constitution. My honorable old daddy there (pointing to Mr. Singletary) won't think that I expect to be a Congressman, and swallow up the liberties of the people. I never had any post, nor do I want one, and before I am done you will think that I don't deserve one. But I don't think the worse of the Constitution because lawyers, and men of learning, and moneyed men, are fond of it. I don't suspect that they want to get into Congress and abuse their power. I am not of such a jealous make. They that are honest men

themselves are not apt to suspect other people. I don't know why our constituents have not as good a right to be jealous of us as we seem to be of the Congress, and I think those gentlemen who are so very suspicious that as soon as a man gets into power he turns rogue, had better look at home. . . .

Some gentlemen think that our liberty and property are not safe in the hands of moneyed men, and men of learning. I am not of that mind . . . these lawyers, these moneyed men, these men of learning, are all embarked in the same cause with us, and we must all swim or sink together; and shall we throw the Constitution overboard because it does not please us alike? (Journal Massachusetts Convention, 1788, pp. 203-205.)

The Federal Constitution was ratified, and the battle shifted to the conventions in Virginia and New York to the shoulders of Madison and Marshall, Hamilton and Jay, with the great character and influence of Washington in the background.

In a century and a half or two centuries there has grown up here all this vast and complicated industrial organization which we now see with its hundreds of occupations, its enormous plant and apparatus of all kinds, connected throughout by mutual relations of dependence, kept in order by punctuality and trustworthiness in the fulfillment of engagements, dependent upon assumptions that men will act in a certain way and want certain things, and, in spite of its intricacy and complication, working to supply our wants with such smoothness and harmony *that most people are unaware of its existence. They live in it as they do in the atmosphere.* (W. G. Sumner, "The Challenge of Facts.")

The basis of American Government is the "common-law doctrine of the supremacy of law"—the central idea of the revolution—which was "put in a nutshell" by James Otis in his "Vindication of the Massachusetts Representatives" in 1763, when he said: "Although most governments are *de facto* arbitrary . . . none are *de jure* arbitrary."

Such is the practical historical background of the system which our constitution describes as "a government of laws and not of men," under which the lawyers of Massachusetts perform their functions.

Early Conditions of Practice—For about twenty-five years after the Revolution all jury trials took place before at least three judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, there was an appeal to a second jury trial, and proceedings were crude and dilatory especially as the judges had to travel all over Massachusetts and Maine on horseback or in carriages.

The new experiment of jury trials in civil cases before one judge of the Supreme Judicial Court came at about the time of the resignation of Chief Justice Dana in 1806, and Governor Strong appointed Theophilus Parsons chief justice (without previous notice to him) to "break in" the new system. With him the modern administration of justice began, and in his six or seven years of service he made the lawyers think harder and talk less than they had been accustomed to do before.

In 1820 the separation of Maine from Massachusetts led to the constitutional convention of that year. A number of the judges and leading

lawyers were members of the convention, and Chief Justice Parker presided.

Eleven constitutional amendments were submitted by this body, of which nine were adopted by the people.

In 1832 a commission was appointed to make the first general revision of the Statutes of Massachusetts. Charles Jackson, who had been a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court from 1813 to 1823 (and who was a grandfather of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes of the Supreme Court of the United States), was chairman of this commission. Also, in 1830, Lemuel Shaw was persuaded by Daniel Webster to accept the appointment by Governor Levi Lincoln to the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Judicial Court and begin his long service of thirty years in expounding the common law and constitutional law of the State.

The intellectual influence of Story's law books, of the revision of the statutes by Jackson and his associates, Asahel Stearns and John Pickering, and the practical administration of the law by Shaw and his associates was such as to stabilize the whole government of the Commonwealth and inspire respect for professional standards from that day to this. The strong and then growing epidemic for codifying everything in statutory form subsided here and went elsewhere to cause later troubles in other States. Massachusetts has remained a common law State with all the advantages of that system of principles in meeting changing conditions.

The Chief Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court since the resignation of Shaw in 1860 have been:

George T. Bigelow.....	1860-1868
Reuben A. Chapman.....	1868-1873
Horace Gray (Appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1882).....	1873-1882
Marcus Morton	1882-1890
Walbridge A. Field.....	1890-1899
Oliver Wendell Holmes (Appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1902).....	1899-1902
Marcus P. Knowlton.....	1902-1911
Arthur P. Rugg.....	1911-

Thus far we have outlined the story of the Supreme Judicial Court because in the earlier days that court was not only the court of last resort, but for many years the great trial court of the Commonwealth, the lower courts being little more than petty tribunals composed of justices of the peace.

Judge Thacher and the Beginning of the Probation System—A Municipal Court for criminal cases to be tried before a single judge with juries was established in Boston early in the century, however, and in 1823 Peter Oxenbridge Thacher began a service of twenty years in this

court during which period he established a solid reputation as an administrator of criminal law. The single volume of Thacher's "Criminal Cases" is still an authority of importance.

In the current discussions of criminal remedies the system of probation is attacked and defended, but the history of its gradual development is generally forgotten.

The practice of probation in dealing especially with young offenders, which was first developed in Massachusetts and has since spread over the country, was begun as a judicial experiment by Judge Thacher about forty years before the Legislature took it up and provided for it on a larger scale with the assistance of probation officers.*

The Constitutional Convention of 1853—In 1853 another constitutional convention was called as a result of a political coalition between Democrats and Free Soilers in the reaction against the Whigs following the "Compromise" of 1850 in Congress. While politics always influence such bodies, it was, perhaps, the most politically controlled of all the conventions. A number of leading lawyers were members: Rufus Choate, R. H. Dana, George S. Hillard, Henry Wilson, George S. Boutwell, Benjamin F. Hallett, and B. F. Butler, then a young man. It proposed a number of changes including a provision to substitute ten-year terms for judges in place of tenure during good behavior. Supported by Butler, Hallett, Henry Wilson, Boutwell and others, this was opposed by Choate, R. H. Dana, Hillard and others, and was the occasion of a famous debate, including the greatest effort of Choate's life in his famous speech in favor of the independence of the judiciary.

The convention tried to "put over" its amendments by covering them up in a whole revised constitution which was submitted, thus violating the first principle of fairness announced by Charles Jackson in the convention of 1820, when he said:

That it would not be a fair exercise of the powers of the convention and would not be doing justice to their constituents unless every proposition were submitted separately for their adoption or rejection.

The redraft of the Constitution, as well as certain amendments separately submitted, was defeated at the polls. While the convention as a whole made a poor exhibition of itself, many of its debates have been valuable for subsequent students of government. In an account of this convention before the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1904, Mr. James Schouler said:

*See "Probation as an Orthodox Common Law Practice in Massachusetts Prior to the Statutory System," *Mass. Law Quart.* for Aug., 1916.

It has generally been conceded by the friends and foes alike of this distinguished body that the total failure of its work at the elections which followed . . . was due most of all to the unwise and unexpected attempt to change the judicial tenure.*

Equity Jurisdiction—The Supreme Judicial Court was not given full jurisdiction in equity until 1877. The reason for this was the common prejudice against trusting judges with power, and the result in practice must have been that a very considerable amount of injustice was allowed to go on without adequate remedy for a very long period. The story is a curious one.

For those readers of this chapter who are not lawyers it should be explained that in the earlier days of the English Government, from which we naturally inherited our system of law, the common law in regard to property rights developed as a system of strict rules for the protection of the legal title to property, and the law did not look beyond the strict legal title and possession. Men were expected to look after their own property, and rules which protected title and possession were considered sufficient. But as the population, and consequently the business and property interests of England grew and became more varied, people began to extend credit and to trust others with the title and possession of their property for various purposes and in various ways, and this naturally resulted in the development of various forms of fraud and unfair dealing for which the strict rules of the common law provided no remedy in the courts. To provide relief in such cases the King, who was the source of all power, appointed a Chancellor, who was the "Keeper of the King's Conscience" with authority under the Great Seal, of which he was the custodian, to protect persons against such breaches of trust and, gradually, in the course of centuries, a system of rules of equity grew up parallel with the common law rules and enforceable in the courts of the Chancellor. These rules were to some extent discretionary, and they were sometimes ridiculed in the old days by saying that equity "varied with the length of the Chancellor's foot."

But by the time the Province Charter was granted to Massachusetts in 1692, equity jurisdiction had begun to assume the form of a body of definite principles which have continued to develop to meet changing conditions to the present day. Accordingly, under the Province Charter the General Court of Massachusetts passed various statutes establishing courts with powers including the equity powers of the English courts. Under the charter, however, these statutes had to be submitted to the English Privy Council (of the King's Advisers) for approval, and the Privy Council vetoed these equity powers because they were afraid they would be interpreted by the Massachusetts judges in a way which would

*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Second Series, Vol. XVIII, p. 41.

be against the interests of the Crown. It was not until 1699, therefore, that the Privy Council approved the creation of the Superior Court of Judicature with the equity powers omitted.

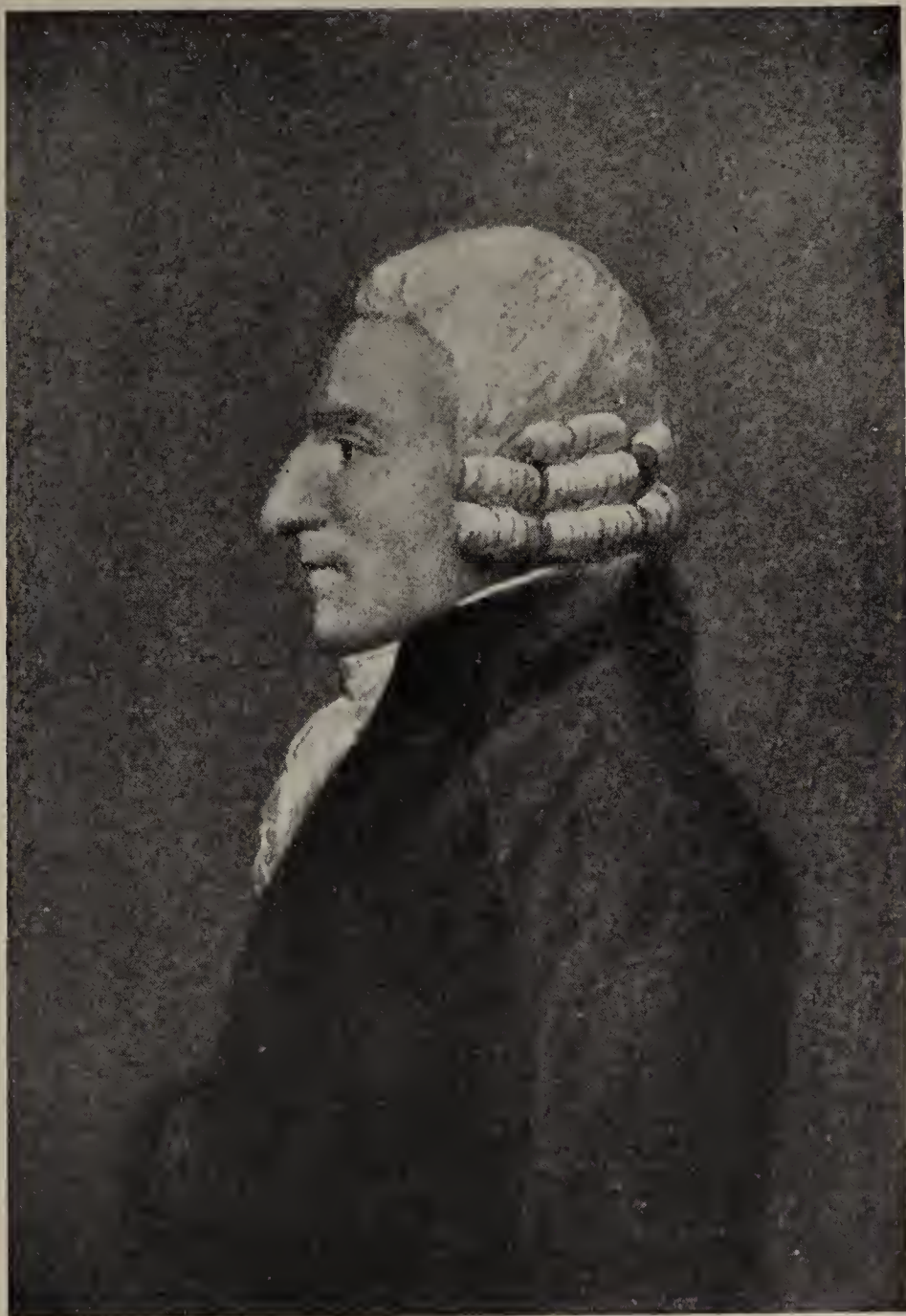
Because of this prejudice of the English King against trusting American judges with powers naturally incident to their judicial office, the Government and people of the Province of Massachusetts grew up in the eighteenth century without these powers, and by the time of the Revolution, had developed a prejudice of their own against them based largely on ignorance of the nature and purposes of equity jurisdiction. Life was still comparatively simple, and they managed to get along without them, and this condition of affairs continued after the Revolution.

But soon after 1800 the better informed lawyers began to appreciate the need of equity jurisdiction for the interests of justice in a growing modern community. Joseph Story while in the Legislature before his appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States, urged the creation of equity courts. Erastus Worthington wrote a pamphlet about it in 1810. But nothing happened except occasionally grants of equity powers by statutes strictly limited to provide against specified abuses. Chief Justice Parker wrote a letter to the Legislature in 1829 explaining the need of broader equity jurisdiction to enable the court to protect persons from injustice.

In 1857 the Legislature passed an act which was supposed to allow the Supreme Judicial Court to administer equity in accordance with the broad general principles which had been developing in England and elsewhere. But during all this period of strictly limited equity powers the bar and consequently the bench, which is recruited from the bar, had grown up without the trained study of equity jurisdiction, so that their minds did not accept readily the broader grant of power, and the statute was strictly construed until a still broader act was passed in 1877, which could not be strictly construed.

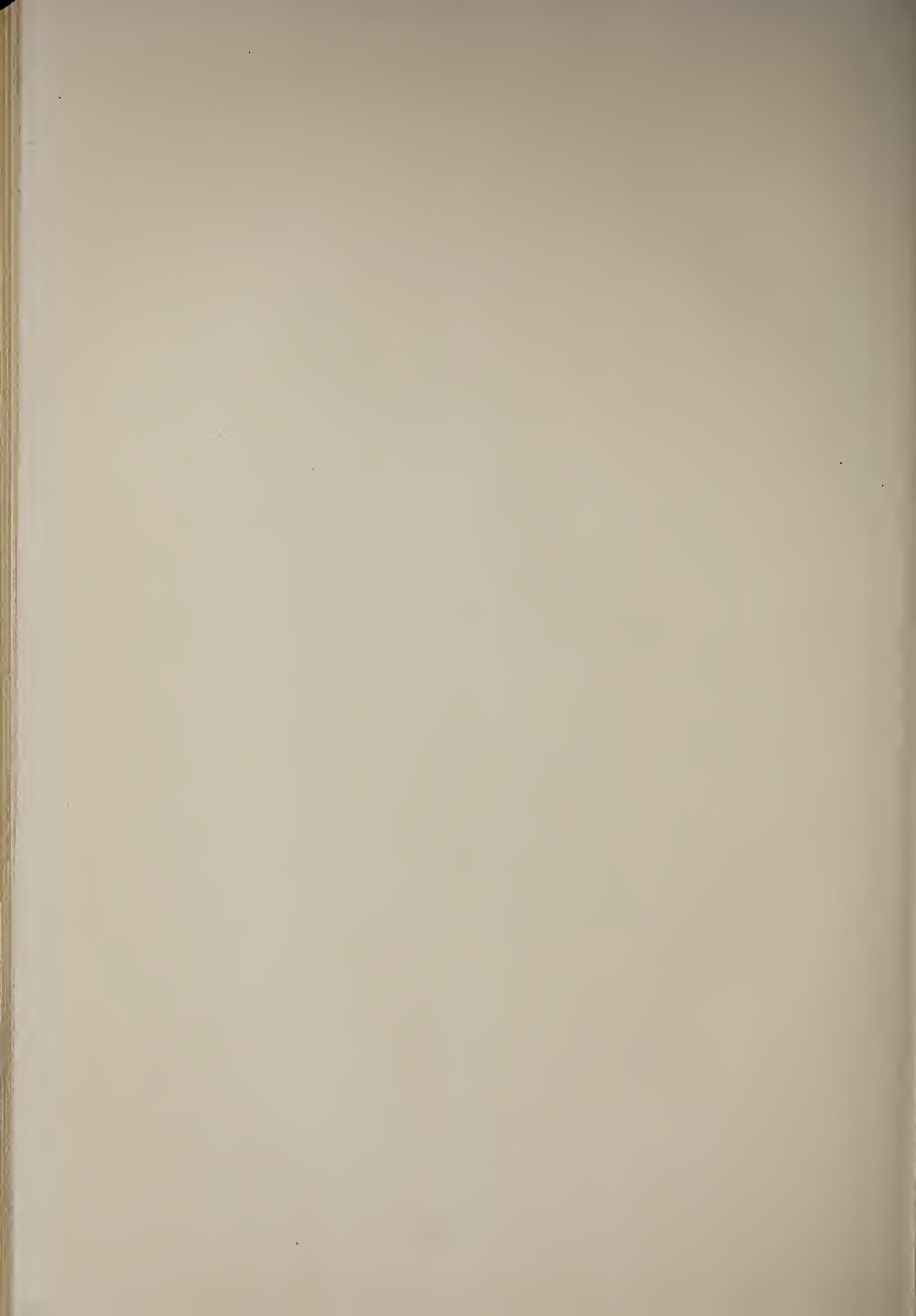
Benjamin F. Butler and the Creation of the Superior Court—After the Civil War General Benjamin F. Butler returned to the practice of law in Massachusetts. He was always a storm centre during his life at the bar and in politics, and animosities excited by him still survive. While he lived in Lowell, yet, as one of the most active practitioners and later as Governor, he was intimately connected with the professional history of the State and its capital city. Without going into the many controversies which he caused, or took part in, there are two measures resulting from his legislative service in 1859 and 1860 which deserve mention because of their far-reaching results on the administration of justice.

With the growth of business in the State the organization and personnel of the Court of Common Pleas and the experiment of a "Superior



Wm Cushing

Chief Justice of Massachusetts, 1777-1789, Associate Justice, Supreme Court of the United States, 1789-1810.



Court of Suffolk County" in the '50's were found ill adapted to the work to be done. Accordingly, in 1859, largely as a result of Butler's leadership as a member of the legislative committee on the subject, the Court of Common Pleas throughout the State and the Superior Court of Suffolk County were abolished, and a new State-wide court—the present Superior Court, was created with ten judges. The planning of this court, which has gradually been increased to thirty-two judges and has taken over practically all the trial work formerly done by the Supreme Judicial Court, was a piece of constructive legislation for which General Butler, whatever his faults, is entitled to credit.

The Superior Court—The court was given concurrent jurisdiction in equity with the Supreme Judicial Court in 1883, and in order to relieve that court because of its constantly increasing appellate work, jurisdiction of libels for divorce and petitions for nullity of marriage was transferred to the Superior Court in 1887, and capital cases in 1891, so that for the past thirty years it has been the great trial court of the Commonwealth.

When the court was created in 1859 it consisted of ten judges, including the chief justice. With the increase of work for the court the number of judges has been increased from time to time, and since 1911 there have been twenty-eight judges, including the chief justice.

There have been six chief justices of this court since its creation:

Charles Allen	1859-1867
Seth Ames (In 1869 he was promoted to the Supreme Judicial Court)	1867-1869
Lincoln Flagg Brigham.....	1869-1890
Albert Mason	1890-1905
John Adams Aiken.....	1905-1922
Walter Perley Hall.....	1922-

In these days of uncertainty as to the future of the country it is an interesting and suggestive fact which may well cause reflection on the part of those who are inclined to pessimism, that in 1808 Fisher Ames, the brilliant orator of the early days of the Commonwealth, died obsessed with fears that the excesses of the French Revolution would appear on this side of the Atlantic, and that his children must look forward to "their future servitude to the French." (See Henry Adams' "History of the United States, I, 83.) One of those children, Seth Ames, lived to be Chief Justice of the Superior Court and later a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court in the Commonwealth, which stands before the country today, as in the past, for the principles of liberty under law.

While space will not permit many anecdotes, one or two judicial stories may help to lighten this somewhat serious account.

The first illustrates the judicial impartiality of the first Chief Justice of the Superior Court. In the last year of his service during which his health was not good, he presided at a jury trial in which the late William W. Crapo, of New Bedford, then a young man, was counsel on one side. The verdict was against Crapo's client. Mr. Crapo not being satisfied with the conduct of the trial, moved that the verdict be set aside on the ground that the presiding judge was physically and mentally incompetent. This motion was argued before Chief Justice Allen himself, who listened with great attention and, after carefully considering the matter, granted the motion for the reasons given by Mr. Crapo and then resigned from the bench.

Another story relates to Hon. P. Emory Aldrich, who was appointed to the Superior Court in 1873. Judge Aldrich was a good lawyer but somewhat irritable, and not always possessed of the judicial manners which are desirable in a judge. Henry F. Durant was his son-in-law and was counsel in a case in which Augustus Russ was counsel on the other side. It happened that Judge Aldrich was holding court when the case was about to be reached and Durant wrote to Russ suggesting that, in view of his relations with the judge, Russ might prefer to let the case go over until some other judge was sitting. Russ, who did not know that Durant was the son-in-law of Judge Aldrich, mistook his reason for writing, and is said to have written back:

"Dear Durant—I guess I hate the old cuss as much as you do, so we might as well let the case go on. I am not afraid of him."

Durant showed the letter to Aldrich, and when the case came on Judge Aldrich, noticing some embarrassment on the part of Mr. Russ, remarked: "Don't be afraid of me, Mr. Russ."

General Butler's Statute About Charging Juries—The other measure for which General Butler was mainly responsible has had a less fortunate influence. Apparently because of a grievance which he naturally felt over what seems to have been an unfair charge to a jury by one of our strongest judges (E. R. Hoar) in a case in which Butler was personally concerned, and, more directly, because of the petty arrogance of a less competent judge of the court which General Butler had helped to abolish, he took advantage of his position as a member of the special committee of the Legislature on the General Statutes of 1860 to secure the insertion in that revision of a statute of one sentence restricting the common law powers of our judges in advising the jury in regard to the facts and the evidence. The act had not been suggested for public discussion; the commissioners who prepared the General Statutes had not suggested it; it was simply inserted in the body of the revision by the committee and run through with some hundreds of amendments of de-

tail. There can be little doubt that this restriction, not merely of the power, but of a most important and responsible function of our judges, has had a weakening effect on the administration of justice and the broad sense of responsibility of our judges. The power to grasp and marshal facts and evidence and present them fairly to a jury is one of the marks of a great judge. Our judges need the training and responsibility which is incidental to its exercise. Our juries need it in difficult cases and many jurymen must wonder why they are not given it when outside of a court room no body of men would think of muzzling the only trained mind that is expected to be impartial and has heard the whole story. In the Federal Courts in Post Office Square the courts have always performed this function to the general satisfaction of the bar when it seemed likely to help the jury, and the restrictive rule in the State courts in Pemberton Square would be regarded as silly by laymen in any matter outside of a court room.

Curiously enough, in all these years, the question whether the statute was an unconstitutional interference with the judicial function never appears to have been fully argued before the Supreme Judicial Court, and it is, of course, uncertain what the court would decide if it were fully argued today after so many years of practice under it. Long practice, however, does not necessarily establish validity as shown by the decision a few years ago of the Supreme Court of the United States in holding invalid the probation practice of the Federal courts which dated back to about the same time as the passage of General Butler's statute. Aside from the history of the matter it would seem only reasonable that when men are drafted from their business for the responsible work of jury service they should be given all the reasonable assistance in the work that the natural function of the judicial office can provide. The prejudice against this function on the ground that judges will dominate the jurors is not a compliment to the jurymen whom lawyers are in the habit of flattering "to the limit." The fact is that many lawyers want to have a monopoly of swaying a jury if they can. But, aside from flattery, the point of view of intelligent jurymen has had comparatively little consideration from lawyers in American practice.

Historical Outline of the Federal Courts in the First Circuit—During the Revolution:

In 1778, Congress assumed appellate jurisdiction of all maritime causes, dividing Massachusetts into three districts, Southern, Middle and Northern; the last embraced the three eastern counties, York, Cumberland, and Lincoln, and acquired a distinctive name, the "District of Maine," which it retained until the separation. . . . The General Court of Massachusetts conceded the jurisdiction to Congress, and authorized an appeal from the State Courts to that body whenever the subject of a foreign power in amity with the United States claimed a vessel or cargo captured or libelled, unless the claimant

chose to waive the right of appeal and have a trial in the State Court. The judges of the maritime courts were judges in admiralty; and all persons charged with piracy or felony upon the high seas were tryable by any two judges of the State and the Admiralty Judge residing within it. (See "A Century of the Federal Courts of Maine," by Hon. Clarence Hale, 22 Maine St. Bar. Assoc. Rep.)

After the Federal Constitution was ratified, an act of 1789 divided the country into thirteen judicial districts, and these districts (Maine and Kentucky excepted) into three circuits (eastern, middle, and southern). A Circuit Court was created, to be held for each district, and this continued until January 1, 1912, when the act took effect which abolished the Circuit Courts and transferred their original jurisdiction to the District Courts, but retained the circuit judges to exercise the appellate jurisdiction of the Circuit Court of Appeals and, if necessary, to sit also as judges of first instance in the District Courts.

From 1789 to 1869 (except between February, 1801, and March, 1802) the only Federal judges were the justices of the Supreme Court and the district judges. Originally the Supreme Court had six members, two being assigned to each of the three circuits. These, together with the district judges, were required to hold a *circuit* court in each *district* (except Maine) twice in each year. Two of the three had to be present. Conditions of travel were not only dangerous, but so difficult that the Supreme Court judges had to spend a very considerable part of their time traveling over the country on horseback or in public or private conveyances. For judges of varying ages this was a serious ordeal and, as Judge Rose points out, "It is not surprising that at this period many gentlemen declined appointments to the Supreme Bench." The act of February 13, 1801, passed by the Federalists at the end of the administration of John Adams, while it relieved the Supreme Court justices by creating "circuit judges," was promptly repealed in 1802 by the Jeffersonians, who objected to what they termed the Federalist "midnight" judges appointed under that act.

The act of 1802 provided for six circuits, to each of which one Supreme Court justice was assigned, he and the district judge having concurrent power to hold the circuit courts alone. Naturally, as the country and the business grew, the work was thrown more and more on to the district judges. While the subject of further relieving the situation was continually discussed, nothing was done about it until 1869, when Congress authorized the appointment of one circuit judge for each of the circuits, then numbering nine. The circuit judge was given the powers of the "circuit justice," but the Supreme Court justices were not entirely relieved from duty as circuit justices. They were to continue to sit when they could, and a requirement that they should attend at least one term of the Circuit Court in each district during every two years re-

mained for a long time, although it was not physically practicable for them to comply with it regularly, and it had to be generally disregarded as the burdens of the Supreme Court in Washington became greater.

In 1891 intermediate Circuit Courts of Appeal were created and the appellate jurisdiction was taken from the Circuit Courts. This left in each district two separate courts of original jurisdiction. The Circuit Courts in many circuits were ordinarily held by district judges, the circuit judges devoting themselves largely to the Circuit Court of Appeals. In 1912 the Circuit Courts were abolished and their jurisdiction transferred to the District Courts. The Circuit Court of Appeals may be held by two judges, but ordinarily it sits with three, as in the English Courts of Appeal. As the Supreme Court justice was seldom available for circuit work and as circuit judges sometimes sat to hear cases in the first instance and could not sit on appeals from their own decisions, it was provided that district judges might be called in to make up an Appellate Court of three. (For more detailed information see Judge Rose's "Federal Jurisdiction and Procedure," 2d Ed.) In 1915 Porto Rico was added to the First Circuit, so that appeals from Porto Rico are heard in Boston.

Two things stand out from this brief story of Federal court organization—first, the usual slowness in the growth of a legislative policy relating to courts which would have enabled them to meet more effectively the demands of the business of the people whom they were created to serve; second, the feature of elasticity in the use of judges in the various courts, whether for appellate or *nisi prius* work. A history of the various Circuit and District Court Reports prior to the Federal Reporter System, and much biographical information will be found in Volume XXX of the "Federal Cases."

The Judicial Independence of John Davis and Joseph Story—In view of the current criticism of the courts in general, the following striking instances of judicial independence, mentioned by Hon. Charles Warren in his address before the Massachusetts Bar Association at Salem in 1922, will bear repeating here, as they are a credit to the First Circuit, and illustrative of what is meant when it is said that the system of appointment during good behavior encourages and protects judicial independence.

On October 8, 1808, in the courthouse in Salem, a decision was rendered which probably affected the history of the Nation to a greater degree than any judicial opinion ever rendered in this Commonwealth.

John Davis, Judge of the United States District Court, was . . . an ardent and active Federalist, appointed by President Adams. All his friends and judicial associates were Federalists. Before him, there was argued the question of the constitutionality of Jefferson's Embargo Law, a measure detested and abhorred by the Federalists of this State, against which the State had risen in open revolt. . . .

Strong in his judicial integrity, though amid the opprobrium of all his party asso-

ciates, Judge Davis resisted all influence, and rendered a judgment sustaining the constitutionality of the law, in an opinion so conclusive that it settled the question forever. It is interesting to surmise the strain to which the Judge's conscience would have been submitted, had the judge been a candidate for reelection at the Presidential election which took place, just one month later, in Massachusetts, that fall. (See Remarks of Franklin Dexter on the Resignation of Judge Davis, I Story 619-20, also Memoir of John Davis, by Rev. Convers Francis, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. X, 3rd Series, 1849, p. 186.)

The act of Judge Story referred to was as follows:

Story had been appointed by President Madison on the Supreme Court, only ten months previous. He was a young man of thirty-three years of age. The War of 1812 had begun, and the Administration was vitally interested in prosecuting and convicting the cases of Americans who had been guilty of unlawful trade with the enemy, England. Such a case came up before Judge Story, in which the defendant pleaded that a proclamation of President Madison reviving an embargo law, under which the indictment had been found, was illegal. Judge Story was thus called upon to decide the legality of an action of a President who had just appointed him to office, and upon its legality as bearing upon a class of cases in which the president and his administration were vitally desirous of obtaining convictions.

Story, in spite of his youth and his personal and political predilections, without hesitation held the action of the president to have been illegal, and the prisoner went free. "For the Executive Department of the Government, this Court entertain the most entire respect," said the judge, but "it is our duty to expound the laws as we find them in the records of state; and we can not, when called upon by the citizens of the country, refuse our opinion, however it differs from that of very high authorities. I do not perceive any reasonable ground to imply an authority in the President to revive this Act, and I must, therefore, with whatever reluctance, pronounce it to have been, as to this purpose, invalid."

When one recalls the fact that a national election was to take place that very fall in Massachusetts, and that administration forces might well have been arrayed against a judge who gave such a decision, had he been subject to the elective franchise, one may rejoice that Federal Judges are not subject to such possibilities. (See Mass. Law Quart., Dec., 1922.)

The Story of the Harvard Law School*—Reference has already been made to the great public necessity of sound legal training, and Massachusetts has led in the development of great law schools throughout the country.

On May 26, 1778, Isaac Royall, a wealthy citizen of Massachusetts, then resident in London (he strenuously denied that he was a Tory refugee), made his will, and in it provided for "a Professor of Laws in (Harvard) College or a Professor of Physick and Anatomy, whichever the said Overseers and Corporation shall judge to be best for the benefit of said College." Royall died in 1781; but it was more than thirty years before the Corporation got together the proceeds of this legacy. Before 1815 they succeeded in collecting a sum of money which, with accrued

*See "Centennial History of the Harvard Law School," pp. 2-36.

interest, amounted to about \$7,500. On August 18, 1815, the Royall Professorship of Law was established, and Isaac Parker, Chief Justice of Massachusetts, was elected to the office. . . .

No English or American university had created a distinct school or faculty of law, but only professorships of law. With two professors of law teaching a body of students separately registered, the Harvard Law School was the first university school of law, as it is the oldest law school now existing, in any common-law country. To be sure, its imposing faculty of law was a bit misleading. For the twelve years of his incumbency, Judge Parker had no closer direct connection with the Law School than was afforded by the attendance of the students at his lectures and a vague understanding that he was occasionally to visit the school and examine the men. The working member of the faculty was Asahel Stearns. . . .

But the new venture in education needed men with vision to see and skill to bring to pass the possibilities of university study of law in America. Neither Stearns nor Parker had just the skill or the vision. The number of students, never large, toward the end of the period rapidly decreased. The university suffered the mortification of seeing her most promising sons seek legal training in an office instead of in her school of law. . . . They had only opened a lawyer's office to students, had superintended their reading, furnished their books, and talked to them about various branches of law. With the resignation of Stearns this experiment came to an end forever in this country; and some more scholarly and helpful method had to be invented for giving students legal instruction and training.

Nathan Dane was a distinguished lawyer of Massachusetts, former member of the Continental Congress, author of the "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio," and prominent Federalist politician. He began in 1800 and finished in 1826 the publication of his "Abridgment of American Law," a work which then became indispensable to an American lawyer, and still has a value for its reports of early American cases not to be found elsewhere. In the preparation of this work he was following the example of the great English lawyer, Viner, whose Abridgment was yet authoritative.

Viner had founded the Vinerian Professorship of English Law at Oxford from the royalties of his book; . . . Dane . . . followed the earlier example of the Englishman . . . and established a professorship of American law at Harvard from the proceeds of his Abridgment. He devoted \$10,000 to the foundation, and desirous of stimulating legal authorship like Viner, he provided that the lectures delivered on the foundation should be published. Story's series of "Commentaries,"

Greenleaf's "Evidence," Parsons' well-known works, and Langdell's published writings have all been issued in compliance with this provision.

The Corporation accepted the gift on June 3, 1829, and appointed as first Dane Professor Joseph Story, whom Dane had nominated. Story had been a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States since 1811.

About 1830, the school and library occupied about two rooms. The need of a new building was great. Dane again came to the rescue. He had intended to leave the amount needed for the purpose as a legacy to the school, but, appreciating its immediate requirements, he advanced the money during his lifetime. He thus had the satisfaction of seeing the school properly housed three years before his death, in 1835, at the ripe age of ninety-two. On September 24, 1832, the "Dane Law College" was dedicated, to continue as the home of the school for more than fifty years.

Behind a great institution there must always be a great personality; and such was Story. His position in the highest court in the land, his esteem among lawyers throughout the Nation, first brought him students; but his geniality, his affectionate dignity, his enthusiasm for the school and all connected with it, the interest and the authority of his somewhat desultory teaching, all combined to secure its coherence and growth. He found it a lawyers' office, bereft, as he asserted, of students; he left it established and important, the accepted model of schools of law wherever the common law prevailed.

Judge Story died in 1845, and his death threw upon Simon Greenleaf the whole burden of instruction. Greenleaf had taught there since 1833. He resigned in 1848.

For the next twenty years the three leading figures in the school were Theophilus Parsons (son of the Chief Justice already referred to), Joel Parker, who had been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and Emory Washburn, at one time Governor of Massachusetts. At the end of this period a critical situation was faced by Charles W. Eliot, then recently chosen president of the university, and he met it by the selection of Langdell.

The Appointment of Langdell and Its Influence—The appointment of Christopher Columbus Langdell to succeed Parsons, was a personal act of the new president. Eliot himself has stated the reason for his choice. Twenty years before, when the new president was a junior in college, he used to go often in the early evening to the room of a friend who was in the Divinity School. "I there heard a young man who was making notes to 'Parsons on Contracts,' talk about law. He was generally eating his supper at the time, standing up in front of the fire and eating with good appetite a bowl of brown bread and milk. I was a mere

boy, only eighteen years old; but it was given to me to understand that I was listening to a man of genius. In the year 1870 I recalled the remarkable character of that young man's expositions, sought him in New York, and induced him to become Dane Professor. So he became Professor Langdell." Langdell was at this time a rather obscure though far from unsuccessful lawyer in the city of New York; member of a firm which gave to the United States an attorney-general and a district judge, but himself known chiefly to a small circle of lawyers. Heretofore, in selecting a professor, the object of the Corporation had been to secure a man of mark, whose prestige would increase that of the school; a man who, by long practice in the law, had become familiar with the content of it. The principle which underlay Langdell's selection was quite other; as he himself explained, a teacher of law should know expertly not so much the content of the law as the method of studying it. "What qualifies a person, therefore, to teach law is not experience in the work of a lawyer's office, not experience in dealing with men, not experience in the trial or argument of causes—not experience, in short, in using law, but experience in learning law. . . ."

For a long time the wisdom of this change remained doubtful in the mind of the American bar. As a protest against it, the Law School of Boston University was founded, having on its faculty eminent members of the Boston bar, and for many years it was regarded as a more practical school for lawyers than the Harvard Law School. Not until Ames' appointment as assistant professor in the year 1873 can it be said that the new method of appointment was accepted even at Harvard.

The year 1873-74 marks the appointment of two of the teachers whose services to the school were a large factor in its success. James Barr Ames was appointed assistant professor of law June 2, 1873, and James Bradley Thayer became Royall Professor of Law on December 8, 1873.

The appointment of Ames created even more surprise than that of Langdell. He was a recent graduate of the school, without experience in practice, but he had won considerable success as a teacher in Harvard College. President Eliot, in explanation of the choice, said that it would not be surprising if young teachers could do a portion of the work of instruction better than older men. The Corporation and the Board of Overseers gave their consent with reluctance, but the success of the young man then in question abundantly justified the president's explanation. "What is to be the ultimate outcome of this courageous venture?" asked Eliot, fifteen years later: "In due course, and that is no long term of years, there will be produced in this country a body of men learned in the law who have never been on the bench or at the bar but who nevertheless hold positions of great weight and influence as teachers of law,

as expounders, systematizers and historians. This, I venture to predict, is one of the most far-reaching changes in the organization of the profession that has ever been made in our country."

Langdell's skill as administrator—a skill which remade the school in every important particular—is overshadowed and almost forgotten by reason of his services to legal education in the invention of the new method of study and teaching, which bears his name. This he appears to have worked out while he was a student in the school; and with the opening of the first year of his service as professor, in the fall of 1870, he put it into operation.

The day came for its first trial. The class gathered in the old amphitheater of Dane Hall—the one lecture room of the school—and opened their strange new pamphlets, reports bereft of their only useful part, the head-notes! The lecturer opened his.

"Mr. Fox, will you state the facts in the case of *Payne v. Cave*?"

Mr. Fox did his best with the facts of the case.

"Mr. Rawle, will you give the plaintiff's argument?"

Mr. Rawle gave what he could of the plaintiff's argument.

"Mr. Adams, do you agree with that?"

And the case-system of teaching law had begun.

Consider the man's courage. . . . Langdell was experimenting in darkness absolute save for his own mental illumination. He had no prestige, no assistants, no precedents, the slenderest of apparatus, and for the most part an uncompromising *corpus vile*. He was the David facing a complacent Goliath of unshaken legal tradition, reinforced by social and literary prejudice. His attempts were met with the open hostility, if not of the other instructors, certainly of the bulk of the students. His first lectures were followed by impromptu indignation meetings. "What do we care whether Myers agrees with the case, or what Fessenden thinks of the dissenting opinion? What we want to know is: 'What's the law?'"

A controversy at once sprang up as to the efficacy of this method of instruction. To most of the students, as well as to Langdell's colleagues, it was abomination. The students cut his lectures; only a few remained. But these few were the seed of the new school. They included several men who afterwards attained national reputation: James Barr Ames, his greatest pupil and successor; Franklin G. Fessenden, member of the Superior Court of Massachusetts; Austen G. Fox, a leader of the New York bar; Edward Q. Keasbey, of New Jersey; James J. Myers, speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and one of the leaders of the Boston bar, and Francis Rawle, of Philadelphia, later a president of the American Bar Association. Working out his cases with these enthusiastic young men, patiently and thoroughly as he always worked, Langdell did nothing to force upon others acceptance of his system. Ames brought youth, fire, virility into the contest; but for many years the two were alone in their use of the new method. It was ten years before others acceded to it. Finally, all of Langdell's colleagues adopted

his invention, and Thayer and Gray became its chief public defenders. Keener carried it to Columbia, Wambaugh to Iowa, Wigmore to Northwestern; the number of students at Harvard greatly increased; distinguished English lawyers approved it; the students trained under it gained notable success at the bar. Long before Langdell's retirement as dean the case for his system was won.

Founding of the Boston University Law School—Reference has already been made to the founding of the Boston University Law School, partly as a protest against Langdell's theory of teaching law at Harvard, and to the fact that for many years it was regarded as a more practical school for lawyers. It is doubtless so regarded today by many men. As the writer is an enthusiastic graduate of the Harvard Law School, who studied under Langdell and was trained in his system of study, he naturally does not accede to this view. But the world is big enough for all kinds of men and all kinds of schools and methods, and sooner or later they will grade themselves by their results. Time plays no favorites. In the meantime a generous spirit of mutual appreciation is needed among educational institutions and those trained in them.

The Boston University Law School was established by vote of the trustees of the university in February, 1872. A committee was appointed of which Melville M. Bigelow was a member, to examine and report upon the advisability of the university's having a law school. The report under the hand of Dr. Bigelow advised the project and, the trustees voting to concur in the recommendation, the school was opened in October, 1872, in the Wesleyan Building, 36 Bromfield Street. Lectures were given in Wesleyan Hall of that building and a single room on the first floor constituted the Dean's office and the only official quarters of any kind. Edmund H. Bennett, to whom the school owes much, was invited to be its dean. He was unable to accept, although he did come as a professor.

Hon. George S. Hillard was then tendered the deanship and he accepted, although under the handicap of ill health, which compelled him to retire two years later.

The lecturers whom he called around him embraced Francis Wharton, Judge Benjamin R. Curtis, Henry W. Paine, Edmund H. Bennett, Nicholas St. John Green, Judge Benjamin F. Thomas, Hon. Charles Theodore Russell, Judge Otis P. Lord, Prof. Melville M. Bigelow, Hon. Edward L. Pierce, and Hon. William B. Lawrence. Some of these men, notably Green, Lord and Bennett, had been similarly connected with the Harvard Law School of the day and were graduates of the older institution, but had become dissatisfied with its new method of instruction. Edward H. Bennett succeeded Hillard as dean and for twenty-five years, until his

death in 1898, was the great personality in the building of the school. Next to him Dr. Bigelow, a legal scholar of international reputation, was the outstanding figure.

The school, which opened with about sixty students, remained in its original quarters on Bromfield Street only during the first year. In 1873, the property, No. 18 and 20 Beacon Street, was acquired by the trustees for general university purposes and two large rooms there were assigned to the law school. The new premises were soon outgrown, however, and the school returned to the Wesleyan Building, its first home, where it occupied increasingly larger quarters until 1884, when it was removed to Ashburton Place. It has been on one side or other of that street since 1884, now occupying its own building at No. 11.

The first catalogue, for the year 1873-74, shows a senior class of twenty-two, a "middle class" of like number, and a junior class of thirty-seven, a total of eighty-one, among whom the college graduates numbered thirty-seven. These last came from twelve different institutions, and among the eighty-one students were five from Ohio, two from New York, two from Rhode Island, two from New Hampshire, and representatives from Vermont, Maine, Connecticut, and some from even as far away as Japan and Liberia. This senior class of twenty-two was the first graduates (class of 1873) and included one future Federal Circuit judge, the late Peter S. Grosscup. The student list contained the name of one woman, a junior.

Boston University's background for the study of the law is found in the statement in this earliest catalogue, that of 1873, that "All persons purposing to enter upon the study of law, with a view to making it a profession, are earnestly recommended to first complete a course of liberal studies and take their first degree in arts or philosophy." Its immediate and lasting contribution to legal education is in the following, from the same announcement: "In all American law schools the regular course of instruction is two years or less. Believing it to be possible and desirable to gradually extend the curriculum, the authorities of this school adopted statutes making its full course, like those in the schools of Theology and Medicine, to cover three years. For the present, however, the degree of Bachelor of Laws is made attainable, here as elsewhere, at the end of the second year, and attendance the third year is entirely optional. All advantages of the third year are either gratuitous, or regulated as to expense by the desires of those who choose to remain in residence." This gratuitousness resulted in a senior class from the beginning.

The growth of the school has continued steadily and it numbers among its graduates the present chief justice and three associate justices

of the Supreme Judicial Court, as well as many judges of other courts and well known members of the bar.

Other Law Schools—Besides the Harvard and Boston University schools, there are two evening schools, the Law School of Northeastern University (Y. M. C. A.) and the Suffolk Law School, and the Portia Law School, which is a school for women.

Benjamin R. Curtis—In the middle of the nineteenth century, Benjamin R. Curtis rose to the front at the Boston bar and was appointed chairman of the Commission to Revise the Practice Act, with Nathaniel P. Lord of Salem and Reuben A. Chapman (later chief justice) as his associates. Again resisting the suggestions for complete codification of all rules of pleading and practice, they reported a plan which retained the outline of common law procedure while simplifying its more technical features, and the Practice Act of 1851, based on their work, has survived in its main features to the present time. In 1851, Curtis, then forty-two years old, was appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and in 185— wrote the famous dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case which figured so prominently in the discussions immediately preceding the Civil War. He resigned after six years' service and in the impeachment proceedings against President Johnson in 1868 he was one of the counsel for the President.

Curtis was an exceptional figure in the profession, as indicated by the fact that after his death, in an address to the Iowa Bar Association, Mr. Justice Miller of the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced him in many ways "the *first* lawyer of America past or present." This is strong language but, as it came from a strong man of a distant State, it is not tainted with local pride.

Curtis had a remarkable power of statement and of continuous labor. "In the preparation of the answer of President Johnson to the articles of impeachment (a production of exceptional ability), in which he was unassisted by the other counsel, who had not yet arrived in Washington, he worked upon it for more than thirty consecutive hours without rest or sleep, and this was in his sixtieth year." (See "Am. Law Rev." for May, 1880).

"It was a remarkable proof both of his ability as a lawyer and of the public appreciation of his character that Mr. Curtis should have been selected at the early age of forty-two years, without solicitation on his part, or political influence, and from such a bar as then existed in New England, to fill the vacancy in the United States Supreme bench caused by the death of Mr. Justice Woodbury. And at that time, although Mr. Curtis had argued, during the seventeen years in which he had practiced

in Boston, more than 130 causes before the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, he apparently had not appeared in a single cause before the United States Supreme Court. His reputation, like his practice, must, therefore, have been largely confined to New England. We find, however, not only that the Secretary of State and the President of the United States had both thought of Mr. Curtis on the same day, and had each written to the other suggesting him as the best person to fill the vacancy, but Mr. Webster adds, in his letter to President Fillmore, that the 'universal sentiment in Boston is, that the place should be filled by the appointment of Mr. Curtis.' The volumes of his 'Life and Writings' explain the cause of this remarkable unanimity of sentiment. Mr. Curtis had not only a natural taste for and an inborn love of the science of law, but constant reading had made him a 'full' man; . . .

"His relations with his associates upon the Supreme Bench, and the duties to be performed by him as associate justice, were pleasant to an unusual degree, and he was treated by the other judges with marked respect, considering that he was so much their junior as to be familiarly called by some of them their 'little Benjamin.' When we consider that, of the seven justices who sat with him at that time, the oldest was thirty-two years older than himself, and four of the others twenty-three years older, we can understand what an unpleasant duty it was, and how much strength of character it required, to take the position which he did in his great dissenting opinion in declaring the opinion of the majority to be extrajudicial.

"Ten years after his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case, he rescued the Republican party from the demoralization and disintegration which, it is admitted, would have overtaken it had the impeachment of President Johnson been brought to a successful termination. The few Republican Senators who bravely resisted the party demands have frankly confessed that it was mainly due to Judge Curtis' conclusive argument that they became convinced of the illegality of the impeachment.

"The position occupied by Judge Curtis after his resignation from the bench of the Supreme Court was exceptional. The first judge to practice after his resignation from such a position, it required an unusual dignity and force of character to sustain the position with credit and honor to himself. His practice soon ceased to be local, and his opinions were sought by clients from all parts of the country. He argued many of the most important causes which came before the United States Supreme Court, and was listened to by the Court with marked respect and attention. It has been noticed that in every case which he argued, and which was decided in his favor, the decision was based upon the grounds stated

in his brief. For many years before his death, the writing of opinions occupied much of his time, and so much were they valued, that he became in many cases a tribunal whose decision was final."

Other Leaders of the Bar—Among the other leaders of the bar in the metropolitan district since 1860, in addition to men whose names have been mentioned in other connections, was Sidney Bartlett, who was in active practice from the time when he was a partner of Lemuel Shaw before Shaw was appointed Chief Justice in 1830, until he argued his last case shortly before his death in 1890.

Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar served as a judge of the Court of Common Pleas for six years, then for ten years on the Supreme Judicial Court and later as Attorney-General of the United States in the cabinet of President Grant. While in that position the President nominated him as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, but he was rejected by the Senate owing to bitter personal and political feelings such as are apt to be created by a man of his exceptional force and directness in public life. He was the judge already referred to whose strong feelings about General Benjamin F. Butler seem to have led him to make some unfair remarks in a charge to a jury in a case in which Butler was interested (See "Massachusetts Law Quarterly" for January, 1926, p. 57). This not unnaturally caused a deep and lasting resentment in Butler, who says in his book:

I believe I have one characteristic, and that is of paying my debts. I have fully done so, I think, in this case. This particular judge, while attorney-general under President Grant, got himself nominated to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, but I caused him to be rejected by the Senate; in 1876 he offered himself as a candidate for Congress against me; I published an open letter describing him so exactly, both morally and politically, that there could be no doubt of his identity (nor was the description libelous), and I beat him so that all the votes he got would be hardly sufficient for milestones in our district.—Butler's Book, 109.

Judge Hoar's brother, Senator George F. Hoar's account of the matter was as follows:

The person who was chiefly responsible for Judge Hoar's defeat was Mr. George F. Edmunds of Vermont. He pretended that his chief objection was that Judge Hoar did not live in the circuit to which the judge was to be assigned for duty. I do not think he deceived himself or anybody else by that statement. He told Rockwood that all objection to his confirmation would be waived, if he would agree to take up his residence in the Southern Circuit; to which the Judge replied that he would not move his boarding-house across the street for any such reason.—"Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar—A Memoir," p. 197.

As to General Butler's suggestion that Judge Hoar "got himself nominated," the private correspondence of the judge on the subject seems to answer that.

Judge Hoar himself accepted his defeat philosophically and when asked about it remarked: "What could you expect for a man who had snubbed seventy Senators?"

While he, like other strong men, doubtless had some of the faults incident to his strong qualities, Judge Hoar was one of the ablest and sanest lawyers that the Massachusetts bar produced. His wit is one of the traditions of Massachusetts, and there is also a tradition, probably exaggerated, that he was never overruled as a judge. Some of his terse judicial opinions have been greatly relied on by the courts and bar.

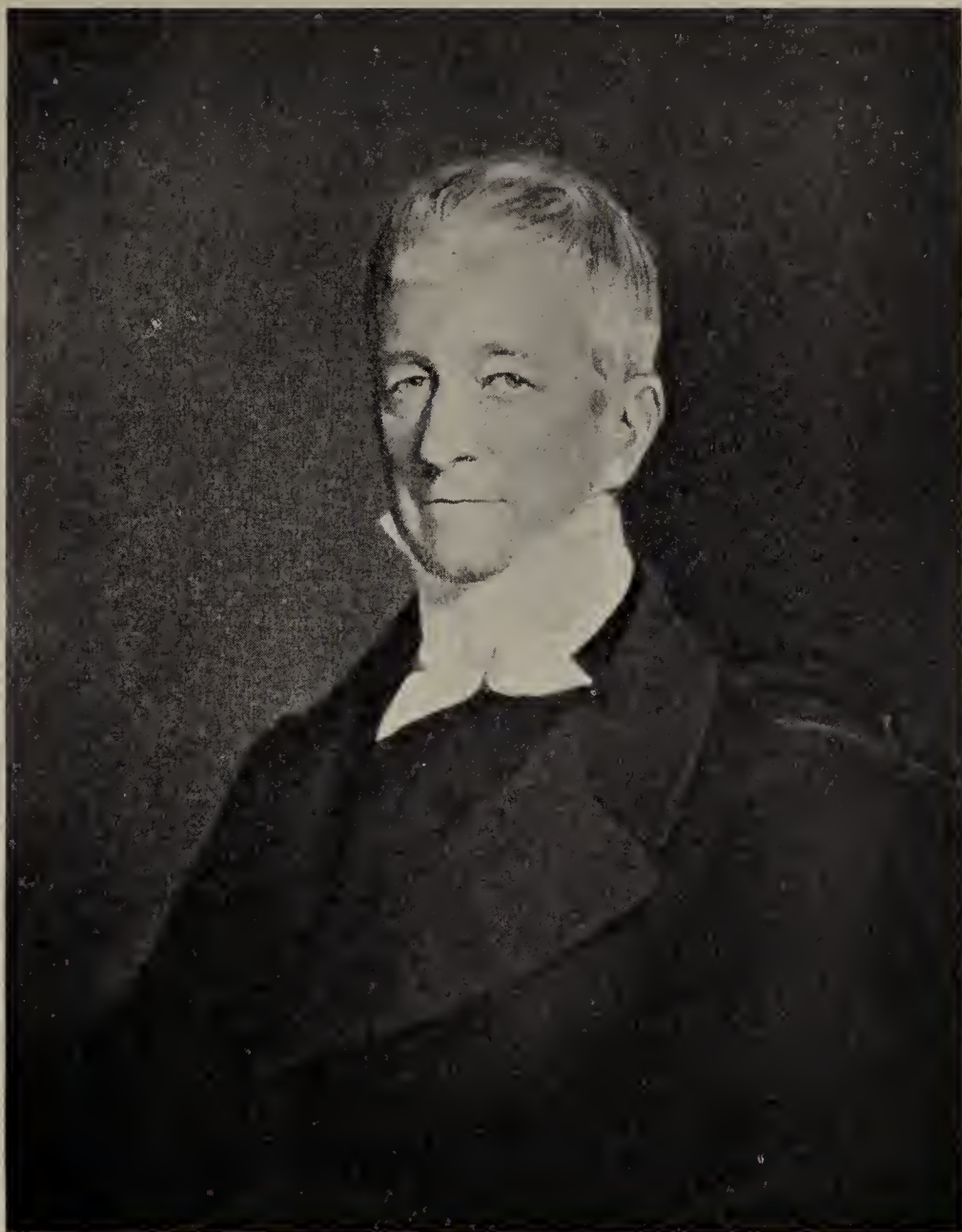
Charles Devens, originally of Worcester but for many years a familiar figure in the Boston Court House, after serving several years as a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, resigned in 1877 to become attorney-general of the United States in the cabinet of President Hayes. On his return to Massachusetts in 1881, he was reappointed to the Supreme Judicial Court and served until 1891.

Massachusetts has contributed four judges of the Supreme Court of the United States since 1860, three of whom were of the Boston bar, Horace Gray, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William H. Moody, and Louis D. Brandeis. Gray and Holmes each occupied the position of Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court at the time of their appointment to Washington. Moody, primarily an Essex County man, and Brandeis, were appointed from the bar, Moody having first served as Attorney General in President Roosevelt's cabinet. Of these, Justices Holmes and Brandeis are still in active service, Justice Holmes having served as a judge for almost forty-six years since his original appointment to the Supreme Judicial Court in 1882 at the age of about forty-two.

The list of lawyers of ability and of varying degrees of distinction in the metropolitan district in the trial of cases, as trusted advisers, as law teachers or in public life in the last half of the nineteenth century, is so long that space permits only a reference to the names of some of them who have not been mentioned in other connections:

Peleg W. Chandler, George S. Hillard, Edmund H. Bennett, Benjamin F. Thomas, Dwight Foster (both for a time justices of the Supreme Judicial Court), Hutchins and Wheeler, William Minot, Francis V. Balch, Edward D. Sohier, Melville M. Bigelow, John D. Long and William E. Russell (Governors of the Commonwealth), William G. Russell, Richard Olney (Attorney General and Secretary of State under President Cleveland), John C. Gray, John C. Ropes, Lewis S. Dabney, Robert Dickson Smith, Thomas M. Babson (for many years corporation counsel of Boston), Alfred Hemenway, Moorfield Storey (at one time president of the American Bar Association), John L. Thorndike, Robert M. Morse, Josiah H. Benton, Charles W. Bartlett, George A. Sawyer, James R. Dunbar, Ezra R. Thayer, and many others.

Of those mentioned above, only Mr. Storey still survives.



CHARLES JACKSON, JUSTICE OF MASSACHUSETTS SUPREME COURT

The Bar Association Movement—In the early seventies the demoralization of the bench and bar of New York under the influence of the Tweed Ring led those members of the profession who retained some self-respect and sense of professional decency to organize the Association of the Bar of the City of New York primarily to fight politics and graft on the bench and at the bar. That started the bar association movement in the country. The Bar Association of the City of Boston was organized a year or two later with Sidney Bartlett as its first president. This was followed by other county and city associations in Massachusetts and other States. In 1878 the American Bar Association was formed, and later came the organization of State bar associations. The Massachusetts Bar Association was formed in 1909-10 with Richard Olney as its first president.

Notable Trials—In his chapter in the "Memorial History," Mr. Morse refers briefly to "the most famous criminal cause ever tried in New England," that of Professor Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman in 1849. Capital cases were then tried before the Supreme Judicial Court. Chief Justice Shaw presided, justices Wilde, Dewey, and Metcalf sitting with him, and after the verdict of "guilty" the chief justice was abused in the press all over the country as a "tyrant," a "Jeffries," etc., but after the confession, before the execution, the abuse subsided. Since that time, there have been several especially notable criminal trials in metropolitan Boston.

The Trial of Leavitt Alley—In 1873, the mutilated body of a man was found in a barrel in the Charles River. Leavitt Alley, a teamster, was charged with the murder. Attorney General Charles R. Train led for the government and Gustavus A. Somerby and Lewis S. Dabney for the defense. Somerby and Dabney, then a young man, were exceptionally able men and tried the case with consummate skill. It was in the days when leading members of the bar were assigned by the court to defend criminals without compensation. Without rhetoric or the dramatic appeals to sentimentality, too common in these days, the defense stuck closely to the evidence, held the government to its burden of proof, and secured an acquittal on the ground of "reasonable doubt." It was an exceptionally brutal murder and there was much public criticism of the result, but, as one reads the report of the case today, with the desire to weigh it as a jurymen, one can see, even in the printed account, the grounds for the doubt and appreciate the skill of the defense. It is an interesting study of evidence. It is a noticeable fact that the defendant's widow was not a witness because she could not be called, and that his son, who could have been, was not called to testify by either side.

The Bram Case—This was a trial in the Federal District Court for murder on the high seas, and presented a most unusual and almost unique problem for a jury, because every living person on the ship appeared before the jury and told his story. The jury knew that one of those eleven men before them had murdered the captain, the captain's wife, and the second mate with an axe, and the question was to pick the murderer. The case was tried twice with great skill and ability on both sides. The defendant Bram was the first mate and was represented at both trials by James E. Cotter and Asa P. French, later United States Attorney. At the first trial, United States Attorney Sherman Hoar and his assistants, John H. Casey and Frederick P. Cabot, now judge of the Boston Juvenile Court, appeared for the government, and at the second trial, after Mr. Hoar's death, his successor, Boyd B. Jones, of Haverhill, took his place. The presiding justices were Hon. LeBaron B. Colt, of Rhode Island, and Hon. Nathan Webb, of Portland, Maine.

There were fourteen people on the schooner "Herbert Fuller," the captain, his wife, the first and second mates, a passenger, Lester Monks, on a sea voyage for his health, and nine members of the crew. The captain's stateroom was aft with a small low window looking out toward the wheel. There was direct testimony of Charlie Brown, one of the crew, who was at the wheel on the night of the murder, that as he turned the wheel to starboard so that he had to bend down, he saw Mate Bram through the small low window, strike the captain with an axe. In the face of this testimony the defense was as ingenious as it was difficult. With every living person aboard the ship in the court room, the only possible defense was to raise a reasonable doubt by showing opportunities and grounds for suspicion of some of the other persons. The main guns of the defense were trained on Charlie Brown and the passenger, Monks, who took command of the ship after the murder and ordered the Mate Bram put in irons until the ship reached Halifax. As to Charlie Brown, the defense was most ingenious, the theory being that it was physically impossible for him to have seen what he said he saw through the window, and that under the weather conditions on that night it was possible for him to lash the wheel so that the vessel would hold her course for a sufficient length of time to allow him to go forward and down the companionway, take the axe, kill three people, and get back to the wheel. This defense was supported as a possibility by the testimony of seafaring witnesses who were called as experts by the defense. The defendant himself took the stand at both trials and told his story with much dramatic ability—indeed, one close observer considered him an actor of marked ability. The jury was taken on board the ship for a view and stood at the wheel and examined various parts of the ship. They brought

in a verdict of "guilty" at the first trial, which, as the law stood at that time, would have resulted in a death sentence, but the case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which ordered a new trial because testimony had been admitted as to Bram's talk under illegal pressure by the authorities on the ship's arrival at Halifax. (See *Bram v. U. S.* 168 U. S. 532.) The second trial before another jury also resulted in a verdict of "guilty," but, between the two trials, Congress passed a statute allowing a jury to bring in a murder verdict of "guilty without capital punishment," which the second jury took advantage of, with the result that the defendant was sentenced to Atlanta for life, and after serving about fifteen years or so, was paroled for good behavior.

Space will not allow a more detailed account of this remarkable trial, but a readable condensed account by one who followed both trials and saw and heard all that the jury saw and heard, may be found in the "Green Bag" by those who like dramatic trials. Each trial lasted five or six weeks and deserves its place among the remarkable trials in American legal history.

The Tucker Case—This was a case of a brutal murder of Miss Page of Weston. The evidence was entirely "circumstantial," the kind of evidence which sentimentalists are apt to disparage vaguely as weak or uncertain, but which lawyers know to be the strongest evidence there is if you can piece enough of it together. The case was tried before Judge Sherman and Judge Sheldon sitting together. Attorney General Herbert Parker led for the government, with District Attorney Wier and Assistant District Attorney Sanderson, now a justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, assisting him. Hon. James H. Vahey defended. The case was fought hard, but there was much nauseating newspaper publicity of a sentimental character and one newspaper, after the verdict "guilty," collected, by advertisement, signatures of thousands of persons, who, of course, knew nothing about the case, to an enormous petition to the Governor for a commutation of sentence. The petition is still kept as a curiosity at the State House. Governor Guild, however, made a careful personal examination of the case and, after convincing himself of the soundness of the verdict, refused to commute and the defendant was executed.

The District Attorney Cases—In 1921, occurred two of the most important and unusual trials in the history of the Commonwealth. They were important because they involved the removal from office for misconduct of the prosecuting officers of the two great counties of Middlesex and Suffolk. They were unusual because, while most cases, civil or criminal, are tried before one judge with or without a jury, the removal

of a district attorney under the Massachusetts Statute is a matter solely within the special jurisdiction of the full bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. Accordingly, the entire appellate work of the Supreme Judicial Court was suspended for several weeks in the summer of 1921 and again in the winter of 1921-22, when five judges of that court sat to hear the evidence and the legal arguments in these two cases. In both cases, Attorney General J. Weston Allen appeared for the government, being assisted in the Middlesex case by the late Henry F. Hurlburt, president of the Bar Association of the city of Boston, and in the Suffolk case by Messrs. Robert G. Dodge, James J. McCarthy, and Andrew Marshall. In the Middlesex case, Melvin M. Johnson, Esq., represented the respondent and in the Suffolk case Hon. James A. Reed, United States Senator from Missouri, and former Attorney General Boyle, of Missouri, appeared for the defense.

Lack of space prevents a more detailed account of these trials, but the story may be read in the judgments of the court in "Atty-Gen. v. Tufts, 239 Mass. 458" and Atty-Gen. v. Pelletier," 240 Mass. 264.

The Creation of the Land Court and its Development Since 1898—The examination of land titles in many States is done by title companies. In Massachusetts it has always been done almost entirely by individual lawyers, many of whom devote themselves to that branch of the profession, and title companies have made little headway. Our system of recording deeds dates back to the early colonial settlements, but in the latter part of the nineteenth century the Australian system of registration of title by the government and the issuance of a government certificate of title attracted attention in this country.

On recommendation of Governor Russell, a commission was created in 1893 to study the subject, and James R. Carret, Frederick H. Stebbins and Heman W. Chaplin were appointed. They disagreed in their report and in 1897 Governor Wolcott appointed Alfred Hemenway, Esq., of Boston, sole commissioner to draft an act providing for voluntary registration. Mr. Hemenway's report was remarkable for several reasons. First, he filed no explanatory report whatever—he simply drew the act and submitted it without comment, leaving the act to explain itself. In view of the habitual verbosity of the legal profession, this, in itself, was remarkable. The Legislature passed the act with little if any change, and experience has proved the skill of Mr. Hemenway's draftsmanship.

It created a Land Court by which titles could be registered on petition by judicial decree, and after notice by posting on the land, by registered mail to all persons known to be interested as abutters or otherwise and by publication to all unknown persons. Without going into details, it was a system, not for making bad titles good by cutting off

known rights of other persons, but for making unmarketable good titles marketable by removing clouds, calling in persons claiming any rights, and, after a fair hearing, settling the question and registering the title subject to known rights of others. The act was not copied from some other, it was a piece of constructive legislation fitted into the local conditions in Massachusetts by a master hand.

The judges of the new court were given a free hand to develop the practice in accordance with the needs of the community as shown by experience. Beginning with two judges and a recorder, the business of the court gradually increased so that a third judge was added. The development of the practice of the court so that it has fitted in without disturbance to the business of the community, is largely due to the work of three men: first, Hon. Charles T. Davis, appointed at the age of thirty-five as one of the original judges, and still in active service as the senior judge; second, Hon. Clarence C. Smith, the original recorder who, after twenty years of service in that position, was promoted to be one of the judges; and third, Hon. Joseph J. Corbett, who has served on the Land Court bench for the past ten or fifteen years.

Besides its original work of registering titles, the Legislature has transferred to it the jurisdiction of practically all the litigation about land in the Commonwealth.

The story of the court is one of constructive public service which deserves appreciation.

The Municipal Court of the City of Boston—Created in 1866 (succeeding the Police Court of Boston), the Municipal Court of the City of Boston has developed into a modern city court which handles a larger volume of litigation, both civil and criminal, than any other court in the Commonwealth. Its criminal jurisdiction covers the central part of the city and its civil jurisdiction extends throughout Suffolk County. For many years its civil jurisdiction was limited to cases involving not more than \$2,000. Its criminal jurisdiction, like that of other district courts, is limited to misdemeanors and other offenses in which a grand jury indictment is not required. There is a right of appeal for a jury trial to the Superior Court in every criminal case, and, until 1912, this right also existed in all civil cases.

In 1909, Hon. Henry T. Lummus, of Lynn, now a judge of the Superior Court, wrote a pamphlet on the "Failure of the Appeal System," in which the history of jury appeals, delay and expense incident to them, was set forth.

In 1912, a special commission in an able report on the lower courts of Suffolk County recommended the abolition of this double trial system

and the substitution of a plan by which a defendant in a civil case, if he wished a jury trial, must remove the case at once to the Superior Court, instead of "fishing" for the plaintiff's case under the old plan and then delaying him by appeal. An appellate division to hear appeals on questions of law only was also recommended. The chairman of this commission was Hon. Wilfred Bolster, the chief justice of the court then and now, and one of the outstanding judicial administrators in the history of our courts.

The Legislature followed the recommendation and since that time the work accomplished by the court has constantly increased, and its civil jurisdiction has been raised to \$5,000.

The special commission referred to also recommended that the other outlying district courts in Suffolk County be consolidated with the central court. This would seem to be a more effective and businesslike arrangement for the community than that of having nine or ten isolated establishments in different parts of the city without the coöperation that is possible with a more centralized arrangement, but the local prejudices in favor of the local courts have always been strong enough to block any action in this direction. As the civil jurisdiction extends throughout the county, however, the practical convenience of the bar and the litigants has resulted in bringing almost all the civil business to the central court.

The Boston Juvenile Court—The story and picture of this court is best given briefly in the following extracts from an account of its first judge by Roy M. Cushman, who was one of his probation officers.

"The spread of the juvenile court idea is one of the remarkable developments in the field of jurisprudence during the last two decades. Among the juvenile courts of the country the Boston Court has ranked high chiefly on account of the eminent service of its first judge—Harvey Humphrey Baker.

"Shortly after Judge Baker died, his friends and associates sought to establish a memorial of him and of his work—something that would help in fostering the growth of the juvenile court movement. . . .

"Because of the vision of Judge Cabot, who succeeded him, the problem as to what form the memorial to Judge Baker should take was most satisfactorily solved by the establishment of the Judge Baker Foundation, made possible through the contributions of friends, relatives and a wider group interested in the idea to which Judge Baker had given impetus. Such a memorial could not have been established under the leadership of any less resourceful man than Judge Cabot. Here, under the skillful direction of Dr. William Healy and Dr. Augusta F. Bronner and their assistants is carried on precisely that kind of a scientific study of problem cases of delinquency which Judge Baker so clearly saw was nec-

essary, and which he regarded in fact as the next step in the development of the work of his court. There can be no finer memorial than this for one who literally gave his life in the service of the juvenile court. . . .

"In 1906, when the Legislature of Massachusetts created the Boston Juvenile Court and Governor Curtis Guild called Harvey Baker to be its judge, the appointment was welcomed as a most excellent and fitting one—one that would assure the establishment of the work upon firm foundations.

"There were some, however, who, knowing the beginnings of the juvenile court movement in Chicago and Denver, were doubtful as to the wisdom of Governor Guild's choice, and wondered whether Judge Baker's personality, his antecedents and his training were such as to make it possible for him to win the confidence of delinquent children. It is undeniably true that the average layman never would have picked Judge Baker for a successful worker with boys. For such a position one naturally thinks of the man with a peculiar type of personality, informal, able to meet the boys on their own level, a man perhaps whose boyhood had been not unlike that of those he now seeks to influence and direct. Such a man Harvey Baker obviously was not. Carefully nurtured, trained in self-discipline in a Puritan household of the finest type, always free from too much care in the matter of earning his livelihood, remaining a bachelor—all in all, one would say, a life wholly uncalculated to develop an understanding of the lives of wayward boys and girls. And yet he came to occupy a position of leadership among the children's court judges in the country. This success was due to many things—to his sense of fairness, his untiring devotion to duty, his great patience, his firmness when occasion demanded, his judicial turn of mind, his profound legal sense and knowledge of the law, his keen intelligence, his tactfulness—but above all to the beauty, simplicity and genuineness of his personal character. Such a nature as his conquered by force of its sincerity.

"How wonderfully was this fineness of character displayed in his work with wayward girls. His handling of this, perhaps the most difficult of all juvenile court problems, was both delicate and masterly. It called forth unstinted praise from all who had the opportunity to observe it.

"Here, as in all the different kinds of cases with which he had to deal, he seemed to be guided by a 'child sense,' which enabled him, a bachelor, to understand the problems of his court far better than most fathers could have done. His success showed that what is required in a children's court judge is not so much the fact of parenthood as the instinct of the father. 'Did you ever see him say goodbye to a boy, who, through successful probation, had gained the victory over himself? . . .'

"As he understood the point of view of the child, he also appreciated the problems of the parents. With rigid adherence in every case to the idea of the parents' responsibility for the child's conduct, he recognized how difficult a task it is to bring up children decently in some of the congested city neighborhoods. Invariably, he insisted upon seeing at least one, and in many instances both, of the parents of every child who came before him. . . .

"Concerning defective children he often said: 'It is not the defective who gets into my court who bothers my conscience—we are able to do something for him. What bothers me is that so many defectives are allowed to drift about until they finally get into trouble and are brought to court in disgrace, when society should have taken them by the hand and helped them long before.'

"Judge Baker was a conservative, and yet he was always forward moving. He was ever on the alert to discover ways of improving the work of his court. Before accepting the judgeship he traveled about the country visiting many of the then existing juvenile courts and institutions for delinquent children, industrial schools, detention homes, etc.; . . . His knowledge of the institutions to which he was sometimes called upon to commit children was of a degree all too rarely acquired by judges. When Judge Baker committed a child he knew the institution to which he was sending him. Not infrequently he visited him at the institution and always watched with interest his career while there and after parole. . . .

"Judge Baker's work proved the soundness of some of the principles of the juvenile court idea—first, that the question, 'What shall we do with the offender?' is more important than 'How shall we punish the offence?' Second, before we can decide intelligently what to do with the offender we must know him; third, to know him takes time.

"Perhaps more than in any other particular, juvenile court procedure differs from the procedure of the regular criminal court in the amount of time devoted to the treatment of each case. This makes the juvenile court apparently more expensive, but society is learning that to take time in the beginning to get the right hold on a problem is not expensive in the end.

"Lavish as he was in the expenditure of time upon the cases in his court—his work was truly scientific in its thoroughness—Judge Baker realized that it was necessary to know more about some children than any judge and his probation officers could discover unassisted. As is seen in his five-year review, it was that realization that showed him the need of a clinic for the study of problem cases.

"And now we have such a clinic in Boston, and it is most properly a

memorial to Judge Baker and his work. The Judge Baker Foundation is proving a most valuable adjunct to the court, and its experts are gathering a mass of scientific data which are bound to be of inestimable value in the many problems connected with delinquency and crime.

"Thus, though no longer here, Judge Baker's vision and hope have become real, and this is all the memorial he would have wished."

It may be added that Judge Baker's successor, the present judge, Frederick P. Cabot, appointed by Governor McCall, has ably and adequately carried on and developed the work of the court.

The court's jurisdiction is limited to the same central part of the city as that of the criminal jurisdiction of the Municipal Court of the city of Boston already explained. In the other parts of the city the juvenile jurisdiction is administered by the district judges. It seems probable that the day will come when the Legislature will recognize the value of enlarging this court and extending its jurisdiction throughout the city, but thus far local prejudices have obstructed any such plan.

Industrial Accident Board—The delay and expense to the parties and the public involved in jury trials under the conditions of modern life have resulted gradually in a resort to other methods of settling disputes. Following a report in 1911 of a commission of which Hon. James A. Lowell, now a judge of the United States District Court, was chairman, the Legislature adopted a workmen's compensation law which removed from the courts a large mass of litigation arising out of industrial accidents and transferred it to an administrative board known as the Industrial Accident Board, which adjusts the claims subject to appeal to the court. It has been frequently suggested that some similar plan should be devised to deal with traffic accidents of various kinds, but no workable plan has yet been thought out to the point of adoption here.

The Constitutional Convention of 1917—Massachusetts has been habitually and wisely slow to change its time-honored constitution. Drafted by the great constructive statesman of the Revolutionary era, John Adams, and his contemporaries who contributed so much to the building of the Nation, it is the only original State charter still in existence as an operative instrument of government. The practice of recasting the whole document so common in other States has not been followed here. All changes have been made by specific amendment separately debated and submitted and still standing in their chronological order, so that the constitutional story—for it is a story—can be better understood by those who have to study it carefully for the practical purposes of government. It is the greatest and most influential historical monument in Massachusetts which gives meaning to all other revolutionary monu-

ments like Faneuil Hall, the Old South Church, Bunker Hill, Concord and Lexington, because it was the great result of what took place there. As Lord Bryce has said, it "profoundly influenced" the form and character of the Constitution of the United States, which was framed seven years later and to the ratification of which the ratifying action of Massachusetts in 1788 gave the principal impulse. These words are written, not for mere rhetorical effect in praise of Massachusetts, but with a deep conviction of their historical accuracy and practical importance and as a background for every reference to the constitution in this chapter.

By the ninth amendment to the constitution submitted by the convention of 1820 and ratified by the voters, "specific" constitutional amendments could be submitted by the Legislature by a vote of a majority of the Senators and two-thirds of the members of the House present and voting in two successive Legislatures. This provision had sufficed to meet the demand for constitutional changes for the following ninety-seven years, for, as already pointed out, the work of the convention of 1853 was rejected by the voters as a whole, and such of the changes, then suggested, as had a sufficiently general popular support, were subsequently submitted by the Legislature as "specific" amendments and ratified at the polls. But for some years prior to 1917 there was agitation for another convention to consider the need of further changes, some of which had been urged upon the Legislature year after year without success.

The movement for a convention having gained some political strength was finally joined by Governor McCall, who advocated it as part of his campaign and in his inaugural address in 1916. An act calling a convention "to revise, alter or amend" the constitution was passed at that session subject to the approval of the voters which was given at the polls. Besides the view that it was time to have another one, there were two more definite reasons why the Legislature followed Governor McCall's recommendation: First, the movement for the Initiative and Referendum had acquired some political strength in Massachusetts, and, second, the controversy over a proposed constitutional amendment to prohibit appropriations of public money for sectarian purposes was becoming more tense before the Legislature each year. While there were all kinds of other proposals, the desire to have these two thoroughly discussed and disposed of by a convention was probably the main legislative reason for passing the convention act.

Of the 320 delegates to the convention, about 140 described themselves as lawyers. The most distinguished of them all was Hon. James M. Morton, of Fall River, who, for many years, had been a familiar figure in the Boston Court House while he sat as an associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, from which he resigned in 1913 after years of service.

In 1917, in his eightieth year, he was elected a delegate-at-large from the Fifteenth Congressional District to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of that year, and he attended its sessions regularly throughout the trying, hot summer of 1917 and the later sessions of 1918-19. He served as chairman of the Judiciary Committee of that convention and rendered great service to the convention and to the public by his judgment, his experience and his courtesy—his character, presence and bearing reflecting, as they did throughout, the high standing and tradition of the great court of which he was long a distinguished member. It is safe to say that every member of the convention felt the influence of his presence and character and the added distinction which they gave to the convention. Simply to see him there made men feel better and helped them to think straighter about the serious problems of life and government. The fact that the Massachusetts judicial system could bring out, and preserve for the benefit of the community, the spirit and character which radiated from Judge Morton's presence must, consciously or unconsciously, have impressed many men in that convention in favor of the soundness of our system. It was a fortunate thing for the Commonwealth that he was a member of that body, and the voters of the Fifteenth Congressional District deserve the thanks of the community for sending him there. In responding to the resolutions of the bar on the death of Hon. William Allen in 1891, Mr. Justice Holmes said: "No man of any loftiness of soul could be long a justice of this court without rising to his full height." (See 154 Mass. 615). Judge Morton gave real evidence of this in the constitutional convention.

The work of the convention covered too broad a field for discussion here, but certain things may be mentioned. The subject of the initiative and referendum was more thoroughly debated during a period of four months than ever before in any deliberative body. An amendment was finally framed for submission to the people and was ratified at the State election of 1918.

While the "Initiative" and the "Referendum" were *politically* inseparable in the convention fight, *actually* they are very different. The referendum, whatever its faults, is not open to the same objection as the initiative. Those who opposed the I. and R. were trying to block a political machine which might be used, as a result of skillful log rolling on a gigantic scale, for various purposes such as the recently adopted Oregon school law (to require the sending of all children to the public schools and thus to suppress private schools) which was the result of an *initiative* petition. That law (which has fortunately been held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States) seems to me an outrageous exercise of power by a fanatical voting majority, and, if it had happened

before the summer of 1917, it would not have been surprising if the I. and R. had been divided in the Massachusetts convention and the Referendum submitted to the people without the "Initiative." However, we have what we have, and we may hope not to be seriously threatened with any such fanatical movement in Massachusetts, unless it be indirectly in the guise of some "federal aid" measure through Congress. One result of the long fight against the I. and R. was the insertion in it by the convention and the people of certain safeguards to protect various subjects from attack under the impulse of temporary popular excitement or prejudice, or shrewd political maneuvering.

The subject of prohibiting appropriations of public funds for sectarian purposes was disposed of in masterly fashion under the leadership of the Committee on the Bill of Rights consisting of fifteen men with Hon. Edwin U. Curtis as chairman. Mr. Curtis was a lawyer who had been more active in political life than at the bar, having served in various capacities including that of Mayor of Boston and chairman of the Park Commission. His two greatest public services, however, were as chairman of this committee of the convention and later as Police Commissioner of Boston during the police strike when, in spite of ill health, he "stood to his guns" with that one man's courage and firmness which are often needed for the protection of the public in a crisis, until President Coolidge, then Governor of Massachusetts, brought to his support the public sentiment not only of the State but of the whole Nation, by his famous telegram to Mr. Gompers on September 14, 1919: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by any one, anywhere, any time." The nation-wide recognition of that principle thus expressed marked a turning point in the history of the United States.

To return to the convention, as already stated, the feeling over the question of sectarian appropriations had become more and more tense before the Legislature for some years. When the convention met, a wide-open sectarian dispute with extremists on each side orating and abusing each other and everybody who disagreed with them was confidently expected by many. To the surprise of every one, Mr. Curtis' committee, made up of men of varied religious convictions, finally agreed on the so-called "anti-aid" amendment which, without using the word "sectarian," prohibited public appropriations for any institution of whatever nature which was not under public management. The statesmanship reflected in this solution of the problem lay in its recognition of a fact that was not understood by many Protestants. That fact was that many Roman Catholics resented the word "sectarian" as an epithet aimed primarily at them. They regarded all non-Catholic institutions as "sectarian" including those which were considered by Protestants as

"non-sectarian." This misunderstanding was natural enough when one considers the variety of Protestant sects as compared with the solidarity of the Roman Catholic Church. For the solution of the difficulty in a spirit of mutual tolerance, the Commonwealth owes a lasting debt of gratitude to the leadership of Mr. Curtis and of every member of the Committee on the Bill of Rights of which he was chairman.

Besides the two mentioned, twenty other amendments on various subjects were submitted by the convention and ratified by the people.

The convention through a committee also prepared a "Re-arrangement of the Constitution" which was voted on by the people. Because of the phraseology of the controlling section in this document and its history in the committee and on the floor of the convention, there was much controversy as to whether its legal effect was that of a new constitution which replaced the old one and its amendments as the operative instrument of government. The controversy was finally carried to the Supreme Judicial Court which decided that the old Constitution of 1780 and its amendments in chronological order was still the operative and controlling instrument.

The story of the controversy is curious but too complicated for a more detailed account. It may be read in the opinion in the case of "Loring v. Young, 239 Mass. 349" and the briefs in that case in the Social Law Library.

The Judicature Commission of 1919-20—The Legislature of 1919 provided for the appointment of a Judicature Commission of three to study the entire judicial system. Hon. Henry N. Sheldon, for many years a justice, first of the Superior Court and then of the Supreme Judicial Court, was appointed chairman. The other members were George R. Nutter, of Boston, and Addison L. Green, of Holyoke, both subsequently presidents of the Massachusetts Bar Association.

The reports of this commission made a new start in the study and development of the judicial system. Its first report in 1920 recommended the first state-wide small claims procedure in the country, thus capitalizing for the community the study of the legal difficulties of poor persons contained in the Report to the Carnegie Foundation entitled "Justice and the Poor," made by Reginald H. Smith, a young Boston lawyer. Mr. Smith served for five years as general counsel of the Boston Legal Aid Society, and his report attracted attention all over the country and resulted in the creation of a standing committee on Legal Aid of the American Bar Association, of which committee he was made chairman.

The second report of the Judicature Commission in 1921 contained a review of the entire judicial system and a number of recommendations for its gradual improvement which were followed by the Legislature.

The most important of these was the creation of a Judicial Council as a permanent body composed of judges and members of the bar, for the continuous study of the judicial system and the practice and procedure in the courts. The council was created by Chapter 244 of the Acts of 1924 and consists of nine members, of whom five are judges of various courts, and four are members of the bar. All except the secretary serve without compensation. The council makes an annual report to the Governor containing recommendations based on its study of the conditions in the administration of justice. It takes the place of the spasmodic special commissions which had been appointed at intervals of ten or fifteen years and provides a central "clearing house" of ideas for the more ordered and consistent future study of the administration of justice. The council was fortunate in having as its first chairman Hon. William Caleb Loring, of Boston, a retired justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, whose experience, enthusiastic interest and hard work in spite of ill health, have helped greatly to give the new experiment a sound start.

Present Condition of the Courts and Bar and Some of the Problems of the Future—The most serious problem of the legal profession with which the community is faced for the future and for the solution of which the awakened interest of the public generally is needed, appears in the following extract from the report of the Judicature Commission of 1920 under the heading, "Admission to the Bar"; "In August, 1916, before a large gathering of lawyers from all parts of the country at Chicago, Hon. Elihu Root, then president of the American Bar Association, delivered an address entitled 'Public Service by the Bar,' of which thousands of copies were distributed, and which was printed for further distribution in various periodicals. In the course of this address he said:

. . . Few ideas have been more persistent throughout this country than the idea that the prevailing consideration in determining admission to the bar should be that every young man is entitled to his chance to be a lawyer, and that all requirements of attendance in offices and law schools and for difficult examinations are so many obstacles in the way of liberty and opportunity, defences of aristocratic privilege and derogations from democratic right. The law schools have been slowly winning their way along the lines of better training for the bar, but the progress is very slow, and the pressure for brief and easy ways to get a license to practice is continuous. Only last year the Massachusetts Legislature, by statute, reduced the requirement of school attendance for admission to the bar to two years of evening high school, following upon an agitation carried on in support of the principle, "Let every man have his chance." One of our States, and a very great State indeed, with a very high average of general cultivation, permits any one of good moral character to practice law. Correspondence schools of law flourish, proceeding upon the idea that a man can become a lawyer incidentally by reading law books in spare hours as he goes along with his ordinary occupation. The constant pres-

sure of democratic assertion of individual rights is always towards reducing the difficulty of bar examinations. One consequence is the excess of lawyers that I have mentioned. Another consequence is that the efficiency of our courts is reduced, their rate of progress retarded, the expense increased, their procedure muddled and involved by an appreciable proportion of untrained and incompetent practitioners; by badly drawn, confused, obscure papers difficult to understand; by interlocutory proceedings which never ought to have been taken, and proceedings rightly taken in the wrong way and inadequately presented; by vague and haphazard ideas as to rights and remedies; by ignorance of the principles upon which our law of evidence is based; by ignorance of what has been decided and what is open to argument; by waste of time with worthless evidence and useless dispute in the trial of causes; by superfluous motions and arguments and appeals; and by the correction of errors caused by the blunders of attorneys and counsel. In many jurisdictions there is a considerable percentage of the bar whose practice causes the courts double time and labor because the practitioner is not properly trained to use the machinery furnished by the public for the protection of his clients. In the meantime other litigation waits and the public pays the expense.

"Such an advertisement and the facts which led to it do not help the interests of Massachusetts or her people. We believe this matter should be left to the regulation of the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court in future, with the assistance of the Bar Examiners, and that they should be trusted to regulate it in the interest of the public as they are trusted with all their other important duties.

"We think that all citizens of the Commonwealth, whether graduates of any educational institution or not, should stand on the same footing so far as examinations are concerned. We believe that Massachusetts should require a high standard for admission to the bar. Massachusetts cannot afford to lag behind other States in the requirements of intellectual training for the bar. The longer this step is delayed the worse will be the conditions of practice. We cannot expect any progress in the administration of justice without the aid of a trained and educated bar. A stream cannot rise higher than its source, and in the long run the standard of the courts cannot be above that of the bar.

"We recommend that the present statutory restrictions upon the action of the Supreme Judicial Court in this matter be removed."

Practice and Procedure—As to courts and procedure, the complaints of excessive technicality and archaic procedure which have been referred to in many recent public addresses apply mainly to other States and have little application to Massachusetts. Some of the complaints of "technicality" are made by lawyers who are insufficiently trained or who do not want to take the trouble to think out their cases before they plead. Some rules of procedure are needed to save time, and it is the business of lawyers to understand these rules. The underlying purpose of pleading is a simple one—to make clear what the real dispute is about before it

comes to trial, in order not to waste the time of everybody, and to let the parties know what they are to meet.

Our criminal pleading was simplified more than twenty-five years ago after the careful report of a commission consisting of Hon. Henry N. Sheldon, Professor Joseph H. Beale and Franklin F. Hurd, Esq. Ever since the early fifties our civil practice act has been reasonably simple. Indeed, we have gone so far in eliminating what is called "technicality" in pleading that time and money of litigants is often wasted in preparing to meet issues which are really not disputed but which have to be prepared for because of the loose general character of the pleading.

One of the problems of the future is to develop a workable plan for finding out at the earliest possible moment before trial what the real fuss is about. That is the simple idea which underlies the effectiveness of the English and Canadian practice. It is important not because it is English, but because it is sound as any layman can understand. It is not easy to bring about, however, in view of the fixed habits not only of the bar, but of the community, many of whom complain of delay but like it when they want it. We are a pretty litigious people and we need to learn to restrain our tendency to fight everything whether it is fair to fight it or not. That is one reason why a well-trained bar with decent professional standards is important.

Court Organization—As to court organization and the methods of bringing about improvements, the following extracts from the report of the Judicature Commission in 1921, already mentioned, describe the general situation:

"If the problem before the Commission were one of preparing for a new community the best system of courts and of procedure which could be devised for 'a busy people who cannot afford to waste time and money,' the theory of a 'unified' or 'single' court, with different branches or divisions for all the various judicial duties required in the State, and an administrative head with adequate power and a sufficiently elastic system to enable him to dispose of all the judicial power in accordance with the requirements of the business to be done in the various parts of the State, would have much to recommend it. Even as it is, with the problem presented of recommending improvements in the system of one of the oldest American Commonwealths, the ideal of greater unity and of greater flexibility and elasticity in the administrative features, as well as of greater responsibility, must be borne in mind as one to be approached as far as practicable.

"On the other hand, we are dealing with a system for the administration of justice in an old Commonwealth where, whatever may have been the defects of the system, the personal character and ability of most of



MARCUS MORTON

Associate Justice Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, 1825-1840; Governor of
Massachusetts, 1840-41 and 1843-44.

the individuals who have held judicial office have, on the whole, made the system work, as modified from time to time during a period of one hundred and forty years, in such a way as not only to retain the respect of the community but to give the State a distinguished position in the minds of all thorough students of civil government.

"It must be remembered that in the development of a judicial system sudden changes of a very radical character suggested by logical theories of efficiency are not easily effected, and that, even if adopted, there might follow in practice unexpected and undesirable results from the disturbance of local conditions, traditions and prejudices effected by changes, the reasons for which would not be generally understood or agreed upon by the bar or by the public.

"This danger of producing new and undesirable conditions by attempting to transplant suddenly in an old community an entirely new judicial structure, however logical and efficient it might be, is, in the minds of the Commission, a controlling objection to plans involving the abolition of the whole system of courts with their reconstruction on other lines. It could not be done without the support of a large body of the bar, and we do not find any general opinion in its favor.

"The central idea underlying the leading discussions of administration in this country in recent years is to work out plans adapted to the different States of dividing the work to be done and placing the responsibility for doing it as promptly and finally as possible, in accordance with the requirements suggested by the nature of the work."



CHAPTER VIII.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION.

It seems strange that the physician is so little known to fame, or that the saga of the doctor has been sung so seldom. Particularly has this been true of Boston, which has played so honorable and notable a part in the history of medicine in the United States. The story of the city is replete with great names; writers have immortalized lawyers, ministers, soldiers, merchants, sailors, but not often have they given their pens to the tales of the doctor and the surgeon. History has been written about all sorts of men and women, even fools, scoundrels and busy-bodies, but little can be found concerning the great medical men who, from the very first settlement, did so much to make the development of Boston possible, and who, in the advancing periods, brought health and wealth and honor to their city. Of the doctor, little has been recorded, and few seem to care. Each generation went its way and gave homage only to the science of the time, forgetting, apparently, that the progress of any present it based upon the knowledge of the past. Each stood upon the shoulders of the one just going out, reaching eagerly for something new, and only occasionally did someone stop and speak of those who had made possible the new.

The Strange Lack of Prominence Given to the Early Physician—By some queer whim of fate, many of the early physicians of Boston are known better by their avocations than their vocations, by the side paths into which they strayed, rather than by the main highway in which they ran their course. "Deacon" Samuel Fuller, one of the Pilgrims of the "Mayflower" from whom so many are proud to have descended, was Dr. Fuller, whose practice covered two colonies in the days when Boston had its first group of pioneers. William Gager is mentioned as a "godly man" by Governor Dudley; he was a deacon of the Charlestown church. But he was also the first resident physician of Boston. Unfortunately he died soon after his arrival. Many of the ministers in the early Boston colony were better doctors than preachers of doctrine. John Winthrop the younger comes down to us in history as the first Governor of Connecticut. Before coming to this country, he had studied, perhaps, under Harvey, who not so many years before had discovered the functions of the heart and the circulation of the blood. Remembered as a statesman, John Winthrop, Jr., was probably of the greatest service to his fellows as an educated practicing physician. Again, only the public works of the senior Winthrop have thrust in the background his medical knowl-

edge and the value of his ministrations among his neighbors. Cotton said of him just before his death, that he had been a "*Help for our Bodies by Physick; for our Estates by Law.*"

Charles Chauncey goes down on the pages of history as the stern president of Harvard College, as does Leonard Hoar, who succeeded him, yet they were both graduates of medicine at Cambridge, England. John Rodgers, the fifth president of the college, was also a doctor. Elisha Cooke graduated from Harvard in 1657, being one of the first of the Bostonians to study medicine. He was a notable physician, but this has been forgotten in the prominence given to his political activities. Harvard College was founded in the year 1636, but from that time until 1750, but nine of its graduates received a medical degree, and these were taken abroad, two at Padua, Italy; one each at Cambridge, Oxford, Aberdeen and Leyden.

Early Prescriptions—Perhaps the "times," that ready refuge of the historian in the time of need, explains the strange lack of prominence given to the medical career of the men of the olden day. Medical science had not progressed very far at that period, but then, there are those who insist that it has not got so very far even today. The story is told of the younger Winthrop, that he valued highly a prescription whose efficacy was dependent upon "Crabbes eyes" (*Oculi cancorum*) in vinegar. Sir Kenelm Digby, who gave him the recipe, directed to "give two spoonfuls att a time to drink three times; and you shall see a strange effect in a weeke or two"! John Wadsworth, of Roxbury, paid fifty pounds for a certain cure for cancer. This recipe directed: "Take 3 frogs and put ym into a deep airthen Basen and power upon them as much swete oyel as will cover them, put ym into a hot oven and let ym stand a quarter of an houre; then turn off the remaining oyel and dip tow in it and apply to the canser; and for a plaster you must take the yolkes of 2 eggs, Burnt Allow, 1 oz. Boal armonick, 1 oz., Bay salt one half oz. Bruse all to a fine poulder and mix with yr yolkes of eggs and apply in form of a plaster to the sore every 3d day. Give a portion of a spoon of salts to cool the hete of the Blood; this alwise will carry off a canser humor if timely applied; the person must make them constant Drink canser roots tea. . . . We may att sartain times apply a tode cutt in two to the wound two or three times a week the nature of the tode is such yt will draw out the canserous and pysonous and if proseded in this manner you may cure any canser."

These two weird prescriptions reek of the dark ages, but they are from an age that was dark in other respects. There was witch-craft, for one thing, and strangely enough, Margaret Jones, the first person to be executed as a witch, was also a doctress. Mather won an undying fame as a persecuter of witches, but who knows the names of any of the sev-

eral physicians who abetted him. The first American medical publication was published in Boston and written by a minister. Its author, Reverend Thomas Thacher, first pastor of the Old South Meeting-House, has had reams written concerning him despite the fact that his "Brief Rule to guide the Common People of New England How to order themselves in the Small Pocks or Measles" was a dreary, worthless bit of credulity.

The Lack of Physicians in the Colonies—Something better than the "Times" must be sought for the explanation of the comparative silence of our histories in regard to the physician. Savage, after a "painful search," collected the names of 134 men who were doctors in the Massachusetts Colony during the first sixty-five years. Others, such as J. M. Toner and F. H. Brown, have also made exhaustive lists of those who practiced medicine in the early days. James Gregory Mumford narrows these lists down to the best known Massachusetts physicians of the seventeenth century, but oddly enough, ten of the eighteen are known better for other activities than as doctors. And yet the doctor ranked with the minister as a leading citizen in the early days in New England; he was in no wise handicapped by the class prejudice which held sway in the mother country. But as a leader he was also prominent in public affairs, and is remembered as a politician. In the provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay, in 1774, there were twenty-two doctors representing as many localities!

Oliver Wendell Holmes Remembered Only as an Author—It is not necessary to delve into the past to find this lack of *written* appreciation of the medical man. Consider what is known of Oliver Wendell Holmes, who lived almost to the present century. He is known to the world at large as "the best beloved of the American writers" who "so represented Boston, so interpreted Boston, as to make himself its definite exemplar." Shackleton writes: "Boston is the city of Holmes, and he himself was Boston epitomized . . . the best of Boston concentrated in one human form" and goes on, like many another to rhapsodize about his literary career. In King's Chapel, where Holmes worshipped, there is a tablet placed in his commemoration which in the order of its inscription, more truthfully summarizes the activities of the "Autocrat." It reads "Teacher of Anatomy" and follows with "Essayist and Poet." To the writer of the cenotaph, his fame as an essayist was secondary to that as a teacher and surgeon, but there are but few who would agree with the order. Charles William Eliot, the late President of Harvard, was one. At a dinner given to Holmes on his seventieth birthday, there was general felicitation of Holmes as a man of letters. When President Eliot spoke he said: "It seems to be my duty to remind all these poets, essayists and story-tellers

that the main work of our friend's life has been of an altogether different nature. I know him as a professor of anatomy and physiology at Harvard for the last thirty-two years. You think it is the pen with which Doctor Holmes is chiefly skillful. I assure you he is equally skillful with the scalpel." Perhaps Holmes may have wished to be remembered as a surgeon, but although Harvard honored him for his medical eminence, it is said that Boston never took him seriously as a doctor from the day when he whimsically let it be known that "fevers would be thankfully received."

Firman and Morley—Let it be recognized, then, that in the dark age of medicine, the doctor, though honored, was so because of his importance to the community as a minister, or lawyer, politician, or "selectman" rather than for the art he practiced. Even when medicine became allied to the sciences, this gradation still held sway. As for the surgeon, he was ranked below the doctor, for he was a barber, and the barber pole of today is the survival of the bloody pole which hung outside the barber-surgeon's establishment. Two names might be added to the meagre list already mentioned of the medical men in Boston during the seventeenth century, Giles Firman (Fairman) the apothecary (1632) and that more interesting character, Robert Morley, who was the Massachusetts Bay Company's barber and surgeon. He was so appointed at a meeting of the company in 1628, and for his services in pulling teeth, bleeding and other bits of minor surgery in this country, he was to receive the first year twenty nobles.

Plagues Which Troubled the First Settlements—Until well after 1700, the Massachusetts colony, and particularly Boston, were very feeble settlements, or group of settlements. People lived well scattered, farming was the main occupation. Diseases were few and there was little need for medicine or for doctors, except for the major ills. Children were born with little or no attendance by any one outside the home. If help was called, the woman mid-wife served. Children died early and often, but the survival of the fittest made for health in the grown. Death and suffering were considered along with the good things of life as "coming from the Lord." Perhaps the most serious health difficulty grew out of the "plagues that troubled the colony, and especially Boston." But even these plagues were usually borne meekly as the "Hand of God" raised in wrath against ill-doing, and the days of fasting celebrated on these occasions were not without their benefit in prevention and healing. Winthrop and his company of colonizers were fortunate in finding a land from which the Indian had been all but wiped out. A great plague, probably the smallpox, had preceded the Pilgrims, and smallpox seems to have hung around to plague the white settlers who replaced the aborigine.

It was the most dreaded hardship the pioneers had to endure. There were epidemics of this disease in 1633, 1663, 1666, 1668, 1677, 1688, 1690, and 1702. It was said that sixty per cent of mankind had been attacked by smallpox, and that ten per cent had died of it. The one common characteristic of humanity was a pock-marked face.

Variolous Inoculation—One of the several notable advances made in the practice of medicine, originating in Boston, came in connection with this all-pervading disease. It was the introduction of variolous inoculation. It was tried when there was but one regularly graduated practitioner of medicine in Boston, William Douglass, a Scotchman, a fighter, and who became the bitter opponent of inoculation. We know something of the objections raised in our present day against vaccination, but it is as nothing compared with the strife that raged when Cotton Mather, clergyman and layman, medically, tried to urge the new treatment upon the medical men of the town.

Cotton Mather vs. William Douglass—The Reverend Cotton Mather, who like many of the clergy, knew as much about medicine as many of the physicians of the town, had read in the "Philosophical Transactions" of the Royal Society at London, how the inoculation method was used among the Turks as a means of protection against smallpox. The article had been published in 1717, but evidently had received little attention. Mather, since he had gotten the paper through the kindness of Dr. Douglass, did the ethical thing in asking him whether he would undertake to try out the method in Boston where the pox was then epidemic. Young Douglass refused, perhaps because he disliked Mather for exploiting the possible new cure first. The old clergyman, always a lover of a fight, determined to find someone who would, and approached other physicians in the town. Douglass secured the ear of his colleagues first, he also had the press on his side. Benjamin Franklin's father led a newspaper campaign against the project. Legislation was all but passed forbidding any attempt at inoculation.

Eventually, Mather won the interest and aid of Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, of Brookline, a country doctor, but one appreciating the opportunity and quick to seize it. Dr. Roby, of Cambridge, and Dr. Thompson, of Roxbury, joined the Mather party, although Boylston really bore the brunt of the battle alone. It was all a very strange affair in which not only the medical fraternity split and fought each with the other, but society itself was rent, very much as it was at a later period over the introduction of ether anaesthesia. Oddly enough, the clergy were arrayed on the side of science, a fact that should be remembered by the modern critic of religion. The Douglass faction forced the attack; they called Boylston a quack and

dangerous experimenter. The press, under the leadership of Franklin, cried that death, if it followed inoculation, would be murder and should be punished as such.

Because of the importance of the advance made in medicine at this time, it may be well to stop and recall what is known of the men on both factions. Cotton Mather is too well known in the history of Boston to need more than mention, particularly as he was the politician and minister, his interest in medicine being that of the educated leader, a progressive in the sciences. At the time of the inoculation fight (1721) he was an old man, but neither the activity of his mind nor the belligerency of his spirit had abated.

William Douglass—Dr. William Douglass was a Scotchman, born in 1690, who, in 1718, came to Boston, which he despised, but stayed. He had traveled widely and was proud of the fact. His medical education had been the best that the time afforded, having studied in Paris and Leyden, which made him somewhat contemptuous of his colleagues, since none of his contemporaries in Boston had his advantages. He knew something of the sciences, astronomy, mathematics, natural history, botany. He wrote a great deal, talked even more and well, was a scamp and sometimes strayed wide of the truth. One wittily said of him that "he was always positive and sometimes accurate." Everything that is known of him is very definite, it is either good or bad. On coming to Boston, he brought letters of introduction to Mather, but Mather snubbed him, which probably was the beginning of the trouble between the two. Douglass was a bitter fighter to the end. When the battle went against him, he did not acknowledge defeat. Instead, he set up a claim as the real prophet and champion of inoculation. He died October 21, 1752, having spent the whole of his professional life in Boston.

Zabdiel Boylston—Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, to whom came the glory of the occasion, was the son of Dr. Thomas B. Boylston, an Oxford graduate who had settled in Brookline in 1635, where his son had been born in 1684. As Zabdiel lived until 1766, and entered his profession before the death of his father, the careers of the two in medicine covered a period of 131 years, an extraordinary incident, and possibly without equal in medical annals. If we are to accept the word of Thacher, the father "played the pedagogue in his ninetieth year." The son received much of his medical education from a Dr. John Cutter, and was a quiet, studious, high-minded and courageous man. He was undoubtedly naturally a conservative, but once convinced of the possibilities of an innovation, there was little hesitancy on his part in putting the idea to the test. He endured the hatred of many who had been his friends while waiting for

a chance to prove the inoculation theory. Even after success had followed the initial trials, his enemies pursued him, his very life being in danger.

Eventually the enmity passed, and the glory that came to Boylston amazed all Boston. A like controversy over inoculation had broken out in England, and the doctor was invited by Sir Hans Sloan, physician to George I, to tell his story and demonstrate his method. Again success. Four events marked his visit: He kissed the hand of royalty; he published a defense of his case; he was given a thousand guineas by the King; and he was made a member of the Royal Society, the first native American to be so honored.

The Dramatic Test of Inoculation—So much for the principal actors in the scene; the actual test had its dramatic features. Dr. Boylston, probably because he had already suffered from smallpox and therefore could not inoculate himself, tried it on his thirteen year old son. Then two negro servants were infected—imagine their terror and their courage. Then a Mr. Walter, minister in Roxbury, and the nephew of Cotton Mather, offered himself for a test. Walter was in more danger from a mob that visited his house during the convalescence than ever he had been from the inoculation. Even after apparent success had attended the efforts of Boylston, his further work was opposed. The doctors of Boston sought out a traveled person who swore to all sorts of dreadful results that he had seen, or claimed to have seen abroad, and persuaded the House of Representatives to pass a law prohibiting inoculation. Only the decision of the Governor's Council prevented its being enforced.

Walter was successfully inoculated June 27, 1721, a date well worthy of remembrance by every American. Within a year, 286 persons had undergone the treatment, of which six had died. Of these six, three are said to have contracted smallpox before the inoculation. Within the same period 5,759 had taken the disease in the natural way, of whom 840 had died, a proportion of one in seven as compared with one in forty-eight under inoculation. The demonstration of the cure won the attention of the laymen by its success; and it was not long before the doctors swung into line, and like Douglass, who later practiced it, tried to claim merit for their acceptance.

However one may view it, the practice of inoculation for smallpox was one of the most notable medical events in America, and possibly the second principal advance introduced in medicine by Boston. The novelty of it, the boldness of it, is not lessened by the fact that six weeks before the trial on Walter, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had been inoculated in London. It was a method that had been used in a blind way by several races for centuries. But not until after 1721 did it become the established

method among intelligent people of combatting one of the most dreaded diseases of mankind. Its value was well tested during the Revolution, and it continued to be the standard practice until a better method was discovered by Jenner near the end of the century. It is interesting to note that two years before the announcement by Jenner, vaccination had been introduced by Waterhouse of Haryard, and practiced by Jackson of Boston.

Dr. Boylston was probably the only truly great physician during the first hundred years in Boston. Mumford says that "Boylston was the only American physician who deserves a permanent place among the masters." Not that there were not many faithful doctors who did well according to their knowledge. But there were few that branched out into lines other than had been laid down, there were few, or no, discoverers of better methods, there was really none who introduced anything that was a real advance either in ideas or the art of healing.

The Introduction of Hospital Treatment—One of the results of the use of inoculation was the introduction of hospitals for the treatment of the contagious diseases, particularly for the safe inoculation and later treatment of smallpox. Boston, because of its position as a seaport, was subject to the ailments brought to it from the four quarters of the earth by vessels and their crews. These first institutions, if so large a name can be applied rightly to so small a thing, were lazarettos intended for the reception of diseased sailors. The scope of these was enlarged to handle smallpox. But even these did not come until well on toward the middle of the next century. The first inoculation hospitals near Boston were started in the winter of 1764 when another epidemic of smallpox was raging; one at Point Shirley, the other at Castle William. The Point Shirley hospital was established by the Governor of the Province and placed under the charge of a Doctor Barnett and other physicians. The Castle William hospital was opened to enlarge the facilities of Point Shirley. Doctors Gelston and Warren were the resident physicians, and there were rooms in the "Barracks" for patients of Dr. Nathaniel Perkins, Dr. Whitworth and Dr. Lloyd. Dr. Gelston was from Nantucket where he had managed a small hospital at Martha's Vineyard. It is said that people came from all over the province to be treated in these hospitals, and that during the first five weeks after their establishment, more than 3,000 persons had been treated, without a single fatality.

All this gives the impression of being very modern; one has a vision of hospitals somewhat after the character of those of today. They seem to be a very decided improvement in the methods of treatment, methods greatly appreciated by the folk of long ago. Little has been recorded to give us a true picture of what these first lazarettos were like, but they

were evidently few in number, the medical attendance was limited, and the care of the patients "inefficient and often abominable." Sanitation was unknown, inoculation disgusting and dangerous, the places and the patients filthy. The fee for inoculation, medicines and attendance was limited to four dollars, and "three dollars per week for diet, nursing and lodging, during his or her illness." It is not surprising that these hospitals were unappreciated, and that in some cases opposition to them reached such heights that attempts were made to destroy them. An inoculation hospital, opened near Marblehead in 1773, was burned by a mob three months later.

The Revolution and American Medical History—The history of American medicine, like that of our country, really begins with the Revolution. Especially is this true of Boston. Before this time the town was dependent almost entirely upon medical men coming from abroad. Medicine was not one of the favorite professions in the early settlement, and the average of the abilities of the first to locate in the colony was not high. Religion lay behind the founding of Massachusetts, and as a result the minister led in colony affairs. Next behind him in rank came the lawyer and orator. It followed that the class from which came later the most of the medical profession, inclined toward the ministry or the law. Many of the sons of the educated and wealthy, although inclined toward medicine, were forced by the class prejudices of the time to enter other professions. The doctor was loved, but seldom honored except when he became prominent in some other line. The surgeon was still too close to the barber to even merit a title.

The Revolution changed all this. It created a demand that was never met fully, for surgeons and physicians, and the war gave men a chance to handle diseases and learn, as never had before been possible. Political freedom brought emancipation from class prejudice, and the class that had furnished the most of the clergy, now entered the medical profession. The Revolutionary period gave a great impulse towards the establishment of hospitals on a large scale and the founding of medical schools. The war was hardly ended when, almost simultaneously the Massachusetts Medical Society and the Harvard Medical School were established. The Society was empowered to grant certificates of competence, but not to confer degrees. It seems strange that the first of our colleges should have waited nearly a century and a half before founding a medical school, and that after others had been formed in smaller places and institutions. That the hospital should have taken so long before becoming recognized as a necessity of life, is almost as puzzling. Certainly it meant more to the physician than it does today, although it is perhaps the greatest practical teacher we now have. To the layman, the hospital is a place ready

to receive the ill and the sufferer from an accident. To the doctor it is an educational institution, to which the doctor and the student come for the perfecting of their training. In the day when there were no medical schools, the hospital was the sole institution in which he might learn medicine. The only other method was by apprenticeship to an older physician.

The Medical Organizations of the War—During the Revolution, the chiefs of the medical department were, for the most part, citizens of Philadelphia, but the greater number of the medical force came from Massachusetts, Boston supplying the principal share from the State. Most of the colonies had no competent men fitted for surgery, and American surgery in the armies of that time was not something to make the profession proud. For some time there was no medical organization in the ranks, and so great was the need of war equipment, medical supplies were quite overlooked. Instruments were few, drugs scarce, ether was as yet unknown; smallpox was the only disease successfully combated. Too often the regimental surgeon received his appointment for political reasons, and was inexpert, inexperienced or worse. Massachusetts is said to have been the only one of the colonies that did not neglect its sick and wounded. Congress made few provisions in aid of the medical corps. Late in 1776, and the condition held almost throughout the war, Congress provided that six doctors should have the medical care of 5,000 men. The hospital surgeon was to be paid \$1.60 a day, his mates \$1, but fortunately was ranked above the regimental surgeons.

The First Surgeon-General of the Continental Army—There are only two Boston names that stand out in the dark age of Revolutionary medicine, Warren and Church, although John Brooks, of Boston and Medford, Minot, Prescott, Thacher and others served well. Benjamin Church of Boston had the honor of receiving the appointment as the first surgeon-general of the American army. The medical service was, at first, called "The Hospital." Church became the head, shortly after the Battle of Bunker Hill, and seems to have proven himself an able man in the administration of his office. He was a leader among his profession in the town, and enjoyed a large practice. Massachusetts has the deserved reputation of providing the proper man when a crisis demanded one, and seemingly it had done so in the surgeon-general. To the dismay of the army, he was found to be in correspondence with the English up to Washington's siege of Boston. A letter of his was intercepted and its contents decoded. His guilt seemed evident, although he made a strong defense at his court martial, claiming he was using this method to secure information from the enemy. The truth of the matter will never be known. Church was convicted and sent to jail for a year. His expulsion

from the Assembly, of which he was a member, followed the court-martial. Given his freedom, he set sail with his family to the West Indies. Nothing more was ever heard of him, his ship probably having been lost at sea.

Joseph Warren—A more pleasing record to scan is that of the two Warrens, Joseph the elder, thirty-five, and John, only twenty-three. Joseph Warren played so brilliant a part on Bunker Hill that his name is known to every one who knows the smallest bit about American history. He had everything to make him a popular idol, looks, talent, success. He was an orator, and for so young a man, was an important figure in the inner councils of the patriots. The story of his exploits still intrigue the imagination. He it was who burst through the window of Old South Church, and standing before the pulpit, denounced in fiery words the British soldiers, the officers of whom were crowded at his very feet. And it was this Warren who started Paul Revere off on his memorable ride to warn the farmers of Middlesex. After the Lexington-Concord fight, Warren was elected president of the Provincial Congress, and three days before the battle of Bunker Hill, he received his appointment as a major-general. The office of physician-general to the army had been offered him, but declined because he preferred active service. How he came to be engaged on Bunker Hill is not known. By right of his rank he could have been in command, had he courteously refused after his sudden appearance upon the hill. In the ranks he fought that day, and, when, with powder exhausted his companions were forced to retreat, Warren, one of the last in the redoubt, was shot dead by the English. General Howe, when he heard of Warren's death, said he was worth 500 men. Famous for what he did during his short career, one can but regret that he did not survive to attain even greater fame as a physician and surgeon.

John Warren—Fortunately his younger brother, John, was spared to become one of the very few notables in the medical world of his day; the best known, and rightly so, of the Boston medical fraternity during the first century and a half of the existence of the town. Only twenty-three, he had practiced medicine in Salem for a year before the outbreak of the Revolution. A surgeon in the militia, he had come under the command of Washington at Cambridge after Bunker Hill, and had a share in the reorganization of the medical department of the newly created Continental Army. He rose in the favor of Washington, although he was somewhat a thorn in the flesh of his commanding officer because of his insistent cry for medical supplies. After the evacuation of Boston Warren went with his general to face the smallpox which was ravaging the

town. In 1776 he was fighting dysentery, which was ruining the troops in New York. Just before the Battle of Long Island, he received the famous "razor letter" in which was the sentence, "I send you two scalpels in which case if you want more use a razor as an incision knife."

In April, worn and ill from the hardships endured in the army, Warren returned to Boston where extensive military preparations were being carried on. A hospital was needed, and one was established near the site of the present Massachusetts General Hospital, to which he was appointed the senior surgeon, July 1, 1777, a position he held until the close of the war. The doctor had a strong bent for anatomy, and in 1780 he gave a course of anatomical lectures to physicians and students. These inspired the Massachusetts Medical Society, in the formation of which Warren had joined with others (May 14, 1780) to establish the lectures on a permanent basis. His efforts at teaching impressed the Harvard corporation with the need of a medical school, the plans for which he was asked to draw up. Out of this came the organization of the Harvard Medical School, the first lectures of which were given by Warren in 1783. There is much more that should be told concerning John Warren, but enough has been given to indicate the important place he has in the medical history of Boston. He lived only until 1815. Never strong, suffering many ailments, he nevertheless had the happy faculty of keeping up with the work in which he was engaged.

Succeeding him came his son, John Collins Warren, born in 1778, and living until 1856, who, associated with Doctors Jackson, Gorham, Jacob Bigelow and Channing, established the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1811. He also founded the Boston "Journal of Medicine and Surgery," the Warren Museum of Comparative Anatomy, and the Warren Museum of Natural History. He stood sponsor for the first experiments made with ether at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Mason Warren (1811-67), John Collins' son, was in turn father of the present J. Collins Warren (1842). A truly remarkable family.

Benjamin Waterhouse and Vaccination—With the beginning of the nineteenth century, medicine began to advance with a remarkable speed, and Boston had many physicians who were in the fore-front of the movement. Edward Jenner had discovered, in England, the protective power of vaccination, the news of which had come to this country. Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Cambridge, an associate of Warren in the first Harvard Medical School, became the champion of the idea in this country, thereby bringing on his head both ridicule and abuse. He first wrote concerning it on March 12, 1799, and again in July of the next year, when he described his method of vaccinating his son, Daniel Oliver, a boy of five. From the arm of this boy he vaccinated another son only three

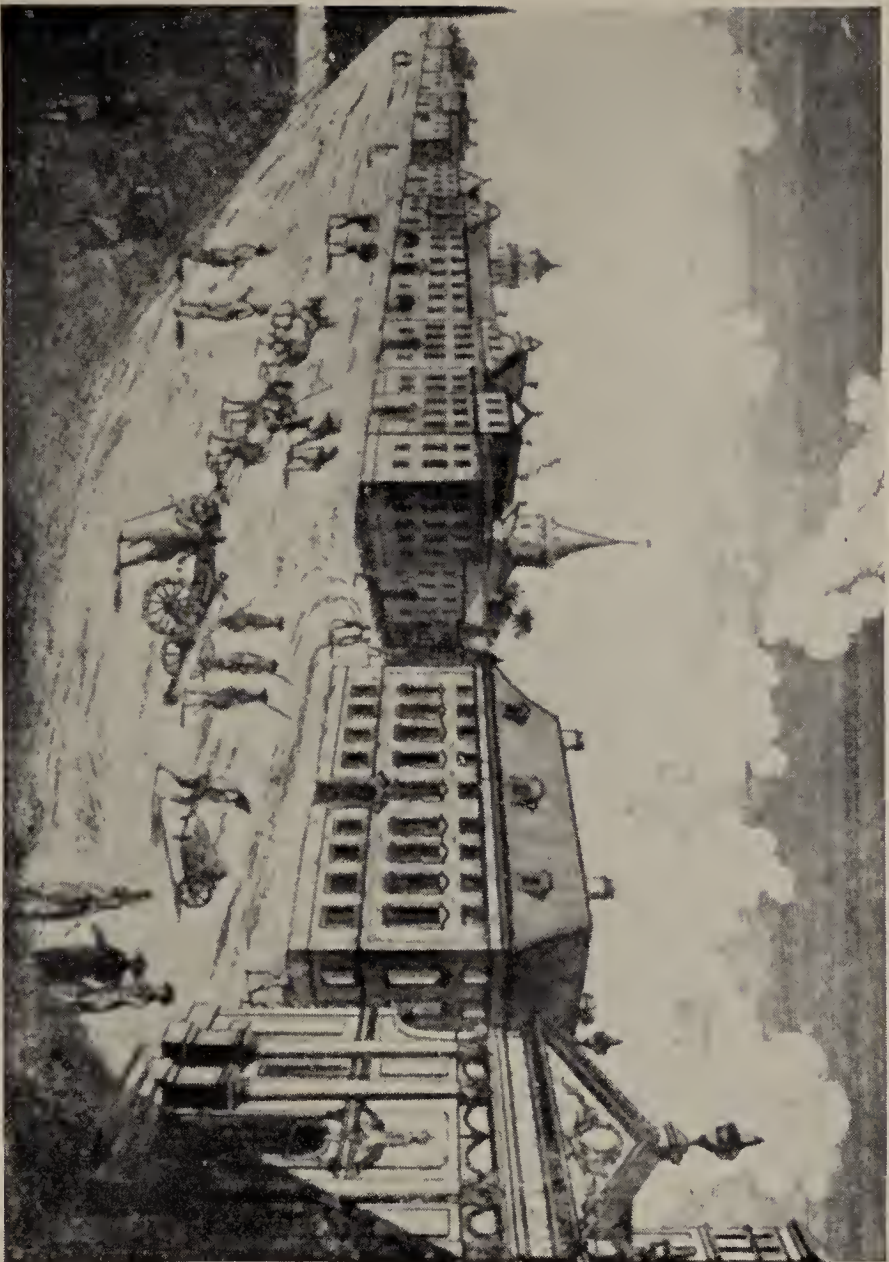
years of age. All this was before Jenner's report had been published in this country. Just as Boston had been the first to introduce smallpox inoculation, so was it the first to adopt this newer and better protection against the plague that so often ravaged the early colonists.

James Jackson, the "Beloved Physician of Boston"—It was James Jackson, for half a century the "beloved physician" of Boston, who brought to this country, in 1800, the new therapeutic agency, the vaccine virus, and who became conspicuous for his effective use of it. James Jackson was only twenty-three at the time. He had graduated from Harvard in 1794, and had been studying medicine in England for the year just before his return to this country. He began practice at once, specializing on the new treatment which, after the usual criticism that follows any innovation, brought him into a prominence that was both remarkable and helpful to one so young. John Collins Warren came to Boston the year following, and Warren as the skilled surgeon, and Jackson, preëminently the physician, may almost be said to have divided the medical field in Boston between them. Jackson was instrumental in bringing the Harvard Medical School to Boston; was, with Warren, one of the founders and a very notable worker in the Massachusetts General Hospital; he also was instrumental in bringing about a needed reorganization in the Massachusetts Medical Society, three very notable things for one man to have accomplished. He died on August 27, 1867, when within a few weeks of being ninety years old, after a well rounded useful life.

The Bigelows in the Medical Annals of the City—There are few names which loom larger in the medical annals of Boston than that of the Bigelows, father and son. Both lived long, their active professional lives covering more than eight decades. Henry J. Bigelow, the son, is better known by the present generation as surgeon and teacher, but what a father he had! Jacob Bigelow, born in 1787 and living until 1879, saw many of the greatest events in our history from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the days of the post-Civil War reconstruction, and many of the men having highest place in the later events were his friends, and in many of the events he had no small part. From every standpoint he was one of the most brilliant figures in the history of American medicine. There can be no attempt made here to even outline his life; it has too many sides to it, covers too wide a field. Although a physician, he was a great educational reformer, one of the most learned of American botanists, and might have been eminent in several other spheres of activity. He gave himself mostly to therapeutics and internal medicine, but he might have, with equal ease, become a great surgeon. "He was

the born artist, artificer, craftsman, mechanic and inventor, and there probably never has been a man better equipped by natural endowment for all branches of success in the healing art." When the distinguished Count Rumford left a sum for the establishment of a professorship and lecturer on the Application of Science to the Useful Arts at Harvard, there was no one so well fitted for the place because of his many sidedness than Jacob Bigelow. His hobby was botany, a subject upon which he lectured and wrote. When he needed models and drawings for this work he not only knew what he wanted, but also how to draw and make them. Desirous of illustrating his "Medical Botany" with colored engravings—this was before modern photography and lithographing had been discovered—he invented a process of his own. Later in life, realizing that our "Cities of the Dead" could no longer be continued within our municipalities, he suggested the founding of a forest cemetery, and was responsible for that most beautiful of burial places, Mount Auburn, and proved himself to be a thoroughly practical landscape designer and gardener, the first of our landscape architects. He was a member of most of the important societies of his day, such as the Massachusetts Medical, Massachusetts Historical and American Society of Arts and Sciences. When but twenty-five he was elected to the famous literary club of Boston, the Anthology Club, which later grew into the even more famous Athenaeum. His writings and books covered many subjects, medical and other; one little pamphlet, first delivered as a lecture, "Self-limited Diseases," seems relatively unimportant as compared with his "Medical Botany" with his own invented 6,000 colored engravings, or the "United States Pharmacopoeia" which, with Spalding, Howson, Ives and Butts, he edited in 1820. Yet of the little booklet, Oliver Holmes wrote: "This remarkable essay had more influence on medical practice in America than any other similar brief treatise, we might say than any work published in this country." Blind for the last five years of his life, and bedridden the greater part of that period, Jacob Bigelow's mind was undimmed at ninety-two when he died, January 10, 1878, and was laid away in the beautiful cemetery which he had created.

The Introduction of Ethereal Anaesthesia—The temptation is great to continue recounting the stories of the "giants" of the early days. We are far enough away from the time in which they lived to get a fair perspective, and there were under the conditions then holding in medicine, so few who stood out from the crowd. But space must be given to events, and to men only as they are responsible for the events. Probably the most remarkable of all medical occurrences connected with the history of Boston was the first introduction to the world of ethereal anaesthesia by Thomas Green Morton in 1846. Much has



OLD STREET VIEW OF BOSTON

been written concerning this greatest of beneficent discoveries in medicine, the value of which can hardly be estimated. Boston has attempted to commemorate the event by a weird marble group placed in a basin of water in the Public Garden. A child interested in it once cried: "That's Abraham, and he's going to kill little Isaac." Unless one stops to read the inscriptions on the faces of the pedestal, one is likely to have no clearer idea of what the statue stands for than that child. The only two of these inscriptions, other than Biblical quotations, read: "To commemorate the discovery that the inhaling of ether causes insensibility to pain, first proven to the world at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, October, A. D. MDCCCXLVI." The second is: "In gratitude for the relief of human suffering by the inhaling of ether, a citizen has erected this monument. . . . The gift of Thomas Lee." No mention is made of the discoverer W. T. G. Morton.

W. T. G. Morton—Morton was a dentist, who in experiments with a Dr. Wells, another dentist, in Hartford, had tested "laughing gas" (nitrous oxide). He moved to Boston in 1842 and began a series of researches in the use of gasses to produce an unconsciousness to pain. Morton was secretive, and had the not unnatural intention to make money with any discovery that he made, so we do not know just how he arrived at the ideas which led to his final success. Sulphuric ether received the greater part of his attention, and he made many tests of its effect upon animals, and later upon himself. Convinced of the effectiveness and harmlessness of the inhaling of ether, he wanted to give a public demonstration of it, but also wanted to give it in a way that would not reveal the fact that ether was the basis of his inhalent. Warren, the foremost surgeon of his time, although now an old man, gave him the opportunity in the General Hospital, and Jackson, of whom we have written, had told him of odorents that would disguise the smell of the ether. It was Jackson who conducted the test.

First Operation Under Ether—On October 16, 1846, a subject with a tumor consented to a trial of the new inhalent before undergoing an operation. The test was a complete success, but that there should be no question, a second demonstration was made the following day. Not long afterward an amputation of a leg was made with the patient under ether. Morton called his mixture "letheon," but from its smell, ether was quickly recognized as the effective ingredient. Public announcement was made of the great discovery, with the consent of Morton, by Henry J. Bigelow, who also took steps to insure the use of ether in Europe. The name letheon was soon dropped; Oliver Wendell Holmes is credited with suggesting the words now used in connection with the subject—"anae-

thesia" and "anaesthetic." On November 12, 1846, Morton secured a fourteen-year patent for the use of ether, but profited little from his discovery. Because his marvelous gift to man was grudgingly given, because he placed the dollar above man's need, Morton only received a tardy recognition, and died while still young, a poor man. He may have erred, but surely he was punished beyond his deserts. Of the man, Jacob Bigelow said: "The suffering and now exempted world have not forgotten the poor dentist who, amid poverty, privation, and discouragement, matured and established the most beneficent discovery that has blessed humanity since the primeval days of Paradise." And, spake Holmes to his students of the event: "Here the unborrowed discovery first saw the light of day, which has compassed the world before the sun could complete his circle of the zodiac. There are thousands who never have heard of the Revolution, who know not whether the American citizen has the color of the Carib or the Caucasian, to whom the name of Boston is familiar through this medical discovery. In this very hour, while I am speaking, how many human creatures are cheated of the pangs which seemed inevitable as the common doom of mortality, and lulled by the strange magic of the enchanted goblet, held for a moment to their lips, into a repose which has something of ecstasy in its dreamy slumber."

Holmes, in making a list of the important Boston medical events, listed them thuswise: "The founding of the Boston Dispensary (1796), and of the Massachusetts General Hospital (1811). The establishment of the City Hospital (1864), and that of the Eye and Ear Infirmary (1826), and other medical charities. The removal to Boston of the Medical School of Harvard (1815), followed by the erection of the building in North Grove Street, and of the noble edifice now (1880) in the course of erection at Boylston and Exeter streets. The formation of the Boston Medical Association (1806), of the Suffolk District Medical Society (1839), of the Societies for Medical Improvement (1839), for Medical Observation (1835 and 1846), of Medical Sciences (1869), and others." Perhaps the list is as good as any, if one substitutes the Massachusetts Medical Society founded in 1781 for the Boston Medical Association.

The Massachusetts Medical Society—The Massachusetts Medical Society with its close to a century and a half of uninterrupted life, the oldest State medical society with an unbroken existence, is the organization that has been responsible for most that has been best in the medical history of the State. The first medical society in this country was one that existed at Boston in 1735, but all that is known of it is contained in a brief letter written by Dr. William Douglass, of Boston, in that year. Another association was planned in 1765, but failed to organize. On November 1, 1781, the Massachusetts Medical Society was incorporated,

which has held its meetings continuously and regularly ever since. The charter was signed by Samuel Adams as president of the Senate, and John Hancock as Governor of the State. By its charter the president and the fellows of the society, or such other officers and fellows as they might appoint, were given authority to examine all candidates for the practice of physic or surgery, offering themselves for examination respecting their skill in their profession; who, passing their examination successfully, should receive "the approbation of the society in letters testimonial of such examination, under the seal of the said society, signed by the president or such other person, or persons, as shall be appointed for said purpose." The charter members are supposed to have numbered thirty-one, and represented different sections of the State. In 1803, when it was reorganized on a democratic basis, there was a membership list of sixty-seven, and from that time there has been a fairly regular growth, until at the present time (1927) the members number nearly 4,500, representing about three-quarters of the physicians in the Commonwealth. During its long life, the society has numbered among its officers and fellows a large proportion of the eminent medical men of the State.

The Founders of the Society—The first president of the society was Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, of Salem; the first censors who were to approve candidates were Drs. Samuel Danforth, Charles Jarvis, Joseph Orne, Cotton Tufts, and John Warren. The fourteen founders, as their names appear in the bill for incorporating the society, were James Pecker (1724-94), who was made the first vice-president; James Lloyd (1728-1801), who was one of the leading practitioners of Boston, and was the first physician in America to use ligature instead of searing wounds, and to use the double flap in amputation; Joseph Gardiner (1727-88), probably one of the group that tried to form a medical society in 1765; Samuel Danforth (1740-1827), a member of a family noted in the annals of Massachusetts jurists, physicians and literary men; Isaac Rand (1743-1822), who did much to establish the art of obstetrics in Boston, and who, with John Warren and Lemuel Hayward, established a smallpox hospital in Brookline; Charles Jarvis (1748-1807), prominent in politics as well as in his profession; Thomas Kast (1750-1820), a traveled and favorite physician of Boston; John Warren (1753-1815), the first of that famous family; John Linn (1750-93), of whom little is known, having removed to Philadelphia, where he died; Benjamin Curtis (1752-84), who died when but thirty-three; Thomas Welsh (1751-1831), army surgeon, treasurer and orator, the first surgeon engaged by the Council of War to attend the wounded after the battle of Lexington; Nathaniel Walker Appleton (1755-95), for ten years the recording secretary of the society;

Joseph Whipple (1756-1804), for five years corresponding secretary, and Shirley Erving (1759-1813), the most youthful of the organizers. A glance at the birth dates of these founders show how young a set of men it was that organized so valuable a society, the majority being under thirty-two—John Warren was but twenty-eight.

The earliest meetings of the society were held in the Court House, later in the Manufacturing House, one of the noted buildings in its day, located on Tremont Street, then in Mr. Furnass' painting room in Court Street, again in Concert Hall, a popular tavern, and so on down to 1901. In this year the society moved into the recently completed building of the Boston Medical Library at 8 Fenway, which place has been the domicile of the organization ever since, and seems likely to continue for many years. No more central location could have been chosen, and the situation is ideal from almost every standpoint.

The Boston Medical Library—Boston Medical Library, organized in 1875, is independent of the Medical Society, and, for that matter, from any other organization, being in this respect the only one of like character in the United States. Practically all the medical societies of Boston have deposited their medical collections there, making it the center for medical literature in Greater Boston. An account of this library can be found in the chapter dealing with the libraries of the city.

The Boston Medical Library, it might be mentioned, grew out of the rather ignominious ending of the Society Library in 1872. The Massachusetts Society founded a library in 1782 which continued in existence for ninety years, when most of the books were given to the Boston Library. The old collections served well the generations that had access to them, and it bridged a time when books were few and private ownership was not the ordinary thing. The new organization is now the fourth largest in the country, used annually by 10,000 readers, a convincing proof that such a library was needed in the capital of the Commonwealth.

Early History of the Society—Swinging again to the past, the seal as adopted by the Massachusetts Medical Society presents "a figure of Aesculapius in the proper habit, pointing to a wounded hart, nipping the herb proper for his cure," with the motto *Natura Duce*. The long history of the body, in which are recorded the efforts and affection of hundreds of the best of the medical profession, in which are also the records of its failures, its many and long fights for that which it considered best for the profession is worthy of greater exploitation than it has received. The society still functions along the lines on which it started, and few better mottoes could be inscribed on its banner than "Natura Duce."

In 1789, by an act of the Legislature, authority was given the society "to point out and describe such a mode of medical instruction as it might deem requisite for candidates prior to examination." And by further act in 1803, it was provided that its number of fellows, originally limited to seventy, might "embrace all respectable physicians and surgeons resident in the State." In that same year the society voted to divide the Commonwealth into four districts, Middle, Southern, Eastern and Western. These organizations afterward grew into the present district societies, although many changes have been made in the territory covered by each, and in the number of the districts themselves, as increases in population made such divisions necessary. Internal changes have been many as is but natural in a growing body whose existence has extended over so long a period, and which has seen medicine rise from one of the least scientific of arts whose practice ranged close to superstition, to heights little conceived of by the founders and early members.

"Sections" Under which the Society Now Functions—Among the many changes in procedure forced upon the society by its constant enlargement, one of the most important was that of dividing the work of the body into "Sections," each of which was complete in itself and which represented the principal divisions of medicine. The "Sections" first functioned in 1889, and proved to be a valuable method of handling the affairs of the society. The Section in Obstetrics was started in 1889, holding its last session in 1892. The Section of Tuberculosis held its first meeting in 1907; that of Hospital Administration began in 1917; and of Diseases of Children in 1920, and at each annual meeting after these years. The Sections of Medicine and of Surgery date from 1889. The most recent "Section," the sixth, is that established in 1922, a new one of Obstetrics and Gynecology.

In the World War—The entrance of the United States into the World War found the society prepared to do its part in supplying the medical requirements of the period. The members of the society were urged to enter the national service, and a committee of five was appointed to cooperate with the government. Although the matter of securing enlistments in the medical corps of the Army and Navy was the work of the United States Council of National Defense, through the Massachusetts Committee, the most of the members of this committee were active members of the State society, the secretary of the society, Walter Lincoln Burrage, acting as secretary of the committee. According to a list of the Massachusetts physicians in the medical corps of the United States Army and Navy, the Red Cross, or British service during the great war, published by the State committee in August, 1919, after the close of the

war, Massachusetts gave a total of 1,721 men to these services, or 31.3 per cent of all the physicians in the State, including the women, those who were too old and the physically unfit. Of those who were offered commissions by the government 1,593 actually served, or 29 per cent of all in the State at the time, a most creditable showing.

Publications of the Society—Many valuable publications have been issued by the Massachusetts Medical Society, among which are "The Medical Communications of the M. M. Society," first printed in 1790; the "Library of Practical Medicine," volumes of which covering the period from 1831 to 1868 are now on the shelves of the Boston Medical Library; and other pamphlets and books as the times demanded. In 1914, the "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" was taken over as a "publication" automatically ending the further printing of other character. The "Boston Medical and Surgical Journal" is one of the foremost medical journals in the country. Established in 1828, the first number being issued in February of that year, it succeeded a quarterly published from 1812 to 1827, as the "New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery and Collateral Branches of Science," and then as the "New England Medical Review and Journal," and also the weekly published from 1823 to 1828, under the name of the "Boston Medical Intelligencer." In 1914 it became the official organ of the Medical Society, and in 1920 and 1921 it was purchased by the society and its publication chartered by the State. The "Journal" was reorganized in April, 1921, with Dr. Walter P. Bowers as managing editor; Dr. George G. Smith, assistant editor, and the following editorial staff: Drs. David L. Edsall, Walter B. Cannon, Robert W. Lovett, Edward H. Nichols, Francis W. Peabody, John P. Sutherland, S. Burt Wolbach and George R. Minot. The "Journal" not only took on new vigor, but branched out into many features that have made it exceedingly valuable to the medical profession. The success of the "Journal" is due in a large measure to the unremitting labor of the managing editor, Dr. W. P. Bowers.

The officers of the Massachusetts Medical Society, 1781-1927, are as follows:

PRESIDENTS.

Edward Augustus Holyoke, Salem.....	1732-1734
William Kneeland, Cambridge.....	1784-1786
Edward Augustus Holyoke, Salem.....	1786-1787
Cotton Tufts, Weymouth.....	1787-1795
Samuel Danforth, Boston.....	1795-1798
Isaac Rand, Boston.....	1798-1804
John Warren, Boston.....	1804-1815
Joshua Fisher, Beverly.....	1815-1823
John Brooks, Medford.....	1823-1825
James Jackson, Boston.....	1825-1832
John Collins Warren, Boston.....	1832-1836

George Cheyne Shattuck, Boston.....	1835-1840
Rufus Wyman, Roxbury.....	1840-1842
James Bigelow, Boston.....	1842-1847
Zadok Howe, Billerica.....	1847-1848
John Ware, Boston.....	1848-1852
George Hayward, Boston.....	1852-1855
Elisha Huntington, Lowell.....	1855-1857
Luther Vose Bell, Somerville.....	1857-1859
John Homans, Boston.....	1859-1862
Josiah Bartlett, Concord.....	1862-1864
Augustus Addison Gould, Boston.....	1864-1866
Henry Coit Perkins, Newburyport.....	1866-1868
Charles Gideon Putnam, Boston.....	1868-1870
Samuel Augustus Fisk, Northampton.....	1870-1872
George Cheyne Shattuck, Boston.....	1872-1874
Benjamin Cody Cotting, Roxbury.....	1874-1876
William Cogswell, Bradford.....	1876-1878
George Hinckley Lyman, Boston.....	1878-1880
Henry Willard Williams, Boston.....	1880-1882
Alfred Hosmer, Watertown.....	1882-1884
Charles Dudley Homans, Boston.....	1884-1886
Thomas Hovey Gage, Worcester.....	1886-1888
David Williams Cheever, Boston.....	1888-1890
Amos Howe Johnson, Salem.....	1890-1892
James Clarke White, Boston.....	1892-1894
Franklin Kittredge Paddock, Pittsfield.....	1894-1896
Henry Pickering Walcott, Cambridge.....	1896-1898
Edwin Bayard Harvey, Westborough.....	1898-1900
Frank Winthrop Draper, Boston.....	1900-1902
George Ebenezer Francis, Worcester.....	1902-1904
Arthur Tracy Cabot, Boston.....	1904-1906
George Washington Gay, Chestnut Hill.....	1906-1908
Silas Dean Presbrey, Taunton.....	1908-1910
George Brune Shattuck, Boston.....	1910-1912
Walter Prentice Bowers, Clinton.....	1912-1914
Charles Francis Withington, Boston.....	1914-1916
Samuel Bayard Woodward, Worcester.....	1916-1919
Alfred Worcester, Waltham.....	1919-1921
John Washburn Bartol, Boston.....	1921-1923

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

James Pecker, Boston.....	1782-1785
Cotton Tufts, Weymouth.....	1785-1787
Isaac Rand, Boston.....	1787-1790
Samuel Danforth, Boston.....	1790-1795
Samuel Holton, Danvers.....	1795-1797
Isaac Rand, Boston.....	1797-1798
Ebenezer Hunt, Northampton.....	1798-1800
John Warren, Boston.....	1800-1804
Joshua Fisher, Beverly.....	1804-1815
Thomas Welsh, Boston.....	1815-1823
James Jackson, Boston.....	1823-1825
Abraham Haskell, Leominster.....	1825-1827
Amos Holbrook, Milton.....	1827-1832
John Dixwell, Boston.....	1832-1835
Nathaniel Miller, Franklin.....	1835-1840
Stephen Bacheller, Royalston.....	1840-1842
Solomon Davis Townsend, Boston.....	1842-1843
Robert Thaxter, Dorchester.....	1843-1845
Samuel Morrill, Boston.....	1845-1846
Edward Flint, Leicester.....	1846-1848
Joseph Stone, Hardwick.....	1848-1849

Charles Gideon Putnam, Boston.....	1849-1850
Andrew Mackie, New Bedford.....	1850-1854
James Deane, Greenfield.....	1854-1857
Thomas Richardson Boutelle, Fitchburg.....	1857-1859
John George Metcalf, Mendon.....	1859-1862
Ebenezer Alden, Randolph.....	1862-1864
Henry Lyman Sabin, Williamstown.....	1864-1866
Foster Hooper, Fall River.....	1866-1868
Henry Lyman Sabin, Williamstown.....	1868-1870
Ebenezer Hunt, Davenport.....	1870-1872
Benjamin Eddy Cotting, Roxbury.....	1872-1874
Joseph Sargent, Worcester.....	1874-1876
Jonathan Walter Dandolo Osgood, Greenfield.....	1876-1877
Gilman Kimball, Lowell.....	1877-1878
David Paige Smith, Springfield.....	1878-1880
Asa Millett, East Bridgewater.....	1880-1881
Thomas Hovey Gage, Worcester.....	1881-1882
John Howell Mackie, New Bedford.....	1882-1883
Ira Russell, Winchendon.....	1883-1884
Adam Calhoun Deane, Greenfield.....	1884-1885
George Nelson Munsell, Harwich.....	1885-1886
John Martyn Harlow, Woburn.....	1886-1887
William Gilman Breck, Springfield.....	1887-1888
George Jewett, Fitchburg.....	1888-1889
Charles Ellery Stedman, Dorchester.....	1889-1890
George Danforth Colony, Fitchburg.....	1890-1891
Jan Joseph Bastianus Vermyne, New Bedford.....	1891-1892
Francis Augustus Howe, Newburyport.....	1892-1893
Zabdiel Boylston Adams, Framingham.....	1893-1894
Frederick Augustus Sawyer, Wareham.....	1894-1895
Andrew Martin Pierce, New Bedford.....	1895-1896
Albert Wood, Worcester.....	1896-1897
Samuel Warren Abbott, Wakefield.....	1897-1898
Maurice Dwight Clarke, Haverhill.....	1898-1899
Charles Montraville Green, Boston.....	1899-1900
William Winslow Eaton, Danvers.....	1900-1901
Augusta Chapman Walker, Greenfield.....	1901-1902
Stephen William Hayes, New Bedford.....	1902-1903
James Forster Alleyne Adams, Pittsfield.....	1903-1904
George Washington Gay, Chestnut Hill.....	1904-1905
Frederick Henry Thompson, Fitchburg.....	1905-1906
Leonard Wheeler, Worcester.....	1906-1907
Francis Joel Canedy, Shelburne Falls.....	1907-1908
Daniel Edward Keefe, Springfield.....	1908-1909
Joseph Gurney Pinkham, Lynn.....	1909-1910
Halbert Greenleaf Stetson, Greenfield.....	1910-1911
Ernest Sanford Jack, Melrose.....	1911-1912
Francis Webster Goss, Roxbury.....	1912-1913
Lyman Asa Jones, North Adams.....	1913-1914
Samuel Bayard Woodward, Worcester.....	1914-1915
Edmund Francis Cody, New Bedford.....	1915-1916
Frederick Weston Taylor, Cambridge.....	1916-1917
George Pierce Twitchell, Greenfield.....	1917-1919
Arthur Richmond Crandell, Taunton.....	1919-1920
Frederic Ellis Jones, Quincy.....	1920-1921
Brace Whitman Paddock, Pittsfield.....	1921-1922
Charles Edward Mongan, Somerville.....	1922-1923

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

Nathaniel Walker Appleton, Boston.....	1782-1792
Josiah Bartlett, Charlestown.....	1792-1796
William Jackson, Boston.....	1796-1798

John Fleet, Boston.....	1798-1802
Thomas Danforth, Boston.....	1802-1805
John Collins Warren, Boston.....	1805-1814
John Dixwell, Boston.....	1814-1822
Thomas Ivers Parker, Boston.....	1822-1823
John Gorham, Boston.....	1823-1826
George Hayward, Boston.....	1826-1832
Enoch Hale, Jr., Boston.....	1832-1835
John Homans, Boston.....	1835-1838
Solomon Davis Townsend, Boston.....	1838-1840
George Washington Otis, Jr., Boston.....	1840-1842
Samuel Morrill, Boston.....	1842-1843
David Humphreys Storer, Boston.....	1843-1846
Charles Gideon Putnam, Boston.....	1846-1847
Alexander Thomas, Boston.....	1847-1848
Charles Gideon Putnam, Boston.....	1848-1849
Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, Boston.....	1849-1851
Charles Eliot Ware, Boston.....	1851-1854
Samuel Parkman, Boston.....	1854-1855
Benjamin Eddy Cotting, Roxbury.....	1855-1857
John Burroughs Alley, Boston.....	1857-1862
Francis Minot, Boston.....	1862-1863
William Wallace Morland, Boston.....	1863-1864
Charles Dudley Homans, Boston.....	1864-1865
Richard Manning Hodges, Boston.....	1865-1866
David Williams Cheever, Boston.....	1866-1867
Calvin Gates Page, Boston.....	1867-1868
Charles Walter Swan, Boston.....	1868-1873
Frank Winthrop Draper, Boston.....	1873-1875
Francis Webster Goss, Roxbury.....	1875-1906

CORRESPONDING SECRETARIES.

John Barnard Swett, Newburyport.....	1782-1787
John Warren, Boston.....	1787-1800
Joseph Whipple, Boston.....	1800-1805
Thomas Welsh, Boston.....	1805-1815
John Collins Warren, Boston.....	1815-1822
John Dixwell, Boston.....	1822-1832
George Hayward, Boston.....	1832-1835
Enoch Hale, Jr., Boston.....	1835-1838
John Homans, Boston.....	1838-1840
Solomon Davis Townsend, Boston.....	1840-1843
Samuel Morrill, Boston.....	1843-1846
David Humphreys Storer, Boston.....	1846-1847
John Barnard Swett Jackson, Boston.....	1847-1848
David Humphreys Storer, Boston.....	1848-1849
Charles Gideon Putnam, Boston.....	1849-1851
Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, Boston.....	1851-1854
Charles Eliot Ware, Boston.....	1854-1857
Benjamin Eddy Cotting, Roxbury.....	1857-1864
William Edward Coale, Boston.....	1864-1865
Charles Dudley Homans, Boston.....	1865-1873
Charles Walter Swan, Boston.....	1873-1906

SECRETARIES.

Francis Webster Goss, Roxbury.....	1906-1909
Walter Lincoln Burrage, Boston.....	1909-

TREASURERS.

Thomas Welsh, Boston.....	1782-1798
Thomas Kast, Boston.....	1798-1807
James Jackson, Boston.....	1807-1811
John Gorham Coffin, Boston.....	1811-1818

John Gorham, Boston.....	1818-1823
Jacob Bigelow, Boston.....	1823-1828
Walter Channing, Boston.....	1828-1840
Woodbridge Strong, Boston.....	1840-1845
Augustus Addison Gould, Boston.....	1845-1847
Zabdiel Boylston Adams, Boston.....	1847-1848
Augustus Addison Gould, Boston.....	1848-1863
Francis Minot, Boston.....	1863-1875
Frank Winthrop Draper, Boston.....	1875-1891
Edward Jacob Forster, Boston.....	1891-1896
Edward Marshall Buckingham, Boston.....	1896-1916
Arthur Kingsbury Stone, Boston.....	1917-

LIBRARIANS.

Aaron Dexter, Boston.....	1782-1792
William Spooner, Boston.....	1792-1800
John Fleet, Boston.....	1800-1813
John Dixwell, Boston.....	1813-1814
John Gorham, Boston.....	1814-1818
William Gamage, Cambridge.....	1818-1819
John Randall, Boston.....	1819-1822
Walter Channing, Boston.....	1822-1825
George Hayward, Boston.....	1825-1826
Enoch Hale, Jr., Boston.....	1826-1832
David Osgood, Boston.....	1832-1838
George Washington Otis, Jr., Boston.....	1838-1840
Samuel Morrill, Boston.....	1840-1842
Winslow Lewis, Jr., Boston.....	1842-1843
Charles Gideon Putnam, Boston.....	1843-1846
Alexander Thomas, Boston.....	1846-1847
Martin Gay, Boston.....	1847-1849
Abraham Andros Watson, Boston.....	1849-1854
John Burroughs Alley, Boston.....	1854-1857
William Edward Coale, Boston.....	1857-1864
James Clarke White, Boston.....	1864-1872
David Hyslop Hayden, Boston.....	1872-1884
Edwin Howard Brigham, Boston.....	1884-1922

Homeopathic Medical Society—The Massachusetts Homeopathic Medical Society had its origin in the Homeopathic Fraternity, established in 1840 by physicians of that school, and incorporated in 1856 under the present name. In 1790 Samuel Hahnemann (1755-1843), placing emphasis on a then well-known idea, that like cures like, used it as the basis of a school of medicine that became known as Homeopathy. In a day when medicine was hardly to be classed with the sciences, and the doctors kept up a constant bickering among themselves, the laity welcomed with open arms one who spoke with authority, and held out the promise of health without heavy dosage or severe methods. In 1825 Hans Christian Gram, a native of Boston, although he had been educated in the University of Copenhagen, introduced homeopathy in this country. In 1833, Dr. Constantine Hening, one of his strongest supporters, came to this country and practiced at Philadelphia until his death in 1881. In 1835 a medical college was established at Allentown, Pennsylvania, to teach the system. Dr. Samuel Gregg of Medford becoming a convert to homeopathy in 1838, was soon joined by Dr. Josiah Flagg of Boston, Dr.

Charles Wild, of Brookline, and Dr. C. M. Weld of Jamaica Plain. In 1840 they formed a medical club, holding their meetings at the houses of the various members. By 1850 the membership had increased to seventy, and in that year the club incorporated as the Massachusetts Homeopathic Medical Society.

The society and the physicians practicing homeopathy, met with opposition from the so-called "regular" doctors, which in the Massachusetts Medical Society was carried on for twenty-five years, ending in 1877. The by-laws of the senior society were amended in 1874 so as to refuse admission to any physician professing adherence to any "exclusive" system. In later years the clause in the by-law was simplified so as to read "that they do not practice any exclusive system of medicine or practice medicine in a manner contrary to the code of the ethics of this society." There are now many homeopaths in the older medical society. The modern trend in medicine has been away from "schools," and the methods of practice tend always to a similarity, which thrusts into the background the particular faith to which the doctor holds.

Possibly the most notable advance made in modern medical education is not that the leading men in the profession are so far ahead of the students of the past, but that the medical fraternity as a mass are so well trained in their profession. It cannot be claimed that American medical education was not a bit backward in falling in line with the principles of higher study. Only during the present century have high requirements been demanded for admission to a medical school. Medical colleges multiplied with great rapidity after the Civil War, but it remained for a more recent age to raise the standards. Boston's medical schools have been among the leaders in providing institutions where a diligent student may secure a scientific education of the highest order in preparation for his life work. There is probably no place of equal population, having so many or so complete, or more successful, medical schools.

Harvard Medical School—The Harvard Medical School was established in 1782, a rather strange late date to be associated with a university that was born in 1636. Starting in Holden Chapel in Cambridge the following year (1783), it removed to Boston in 1810, locating on Marlborough, now Washington Street. After several changes of home the school moved into the building that now houses the Boston University College of Liberal Arts. This structure was supposed to be sufficiently large and modern to provide a home for the institution for at least forty years, but was outgrown in fifteen. In 1892 the course was extended to four years; and in 1896 the entrance conditions were raised so that admission was restricted to those holding degrees. Another marked advance was made in 1899 when the scope of the school was extended by

the creation of a new faculty of medicine consolidating the Medical, Dental and Veterinary schools. The advance called for a new set of buildings, one capable of expansion until it could be made the most comprehensive medical establishment in the world. Through the gifts, totaling millions of dollars, the present set of structures lying between Longwood Avenue and Francis Street were made possible. Since the history of the Harvard Medical Schools has been given in the chapter on Education, no further comment need be made here.

Other Medical Schools—The Boston University School of Medicine was founded in 1874 as a homeopathic institution. The next year the New England Female Medical College was added to this school. Its location on East Concord Street, adjoining the Homeopathic Hospital, enables its students to have access to observation and clinical work in the hospital.

The Tufts College School of Medicine, with the Dental School of that same college occupy convenient buildings in the city, and afford opportunity for medical instruction, requiring slightly different preparation than that insisted upon at Harvard. The medical school was established in 1893 for the training of general practitioners. Starting with a faculty that numbered in it some of the most brilliant of Boston's physicians and surgeons, the school has been eminently successful in its work. Although specialization has not been its aim, special attention has been given to such subjects as pathology, psychopathy and therapeutics.

The Tufts College Dental School is said to be the largest in the United States and the third in point of establishment. Founded in 1868, as the Boston Dental College, with the stated purpose "the advancement of the dental art and instruction," it has moved along steadily towards its present leadership. Its library and museum date but little later than the time of its founding; there is an infirmary in connection with the school where free treatment is given the poor. When the Tufts School of Medicine was organized in 1893, the Dental School was associated with it to the benefit of both.

When Oliver Wendell Holmes gave his list of the medical institutions of Boston he did it with a pride that was justified in the many and great hospitals, dispensaries, asylums, sanatoriums and the like that were then in the city. Two of those he noted as the leaders among the medical charities still retain their leadership, but others the existence of which was not then even imagined, have come to the fore. Where, in his time, there were thirty odd institutions, there are now more than a hundred and thirty, many of which are laid out along lines which are the conceptions only of the last two decades. The larger number of these institutions are public, or practically public, in character and established as

charities. Even those that are quasi-public often have heavy endowments, and are dependent upon philanthropy for their continuance. It is surprising how much wealth has been invested in the charitable medical establishments of Boston. The city and the State, of course, also support many.

Medical Institutions of the City—These institutions are spread all over the city, many being located in the outer sections such as Brighton, Jamaica Plain, Roxbury and West Roxbury, Dorchester and Charlestown. Some are grouped, as those gathered around the Harvard Medical School, because of the mutual benefit derived by the concentration. In this one section besides the Harvard Medical and Dental Schools, there are the Angell Memorial Animal Hospital, and the Children's Hospital. Near by are the Peter Bent Brigham hospitals, the Robert Breck Brigham Hospital, the Channing Home for Consumptive Women, the Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hospital (for cancer patients) the New England Deaconess' Hospital, the Nursery for Blind Babies, the Vincent Memorial Hospital, the Forsyth Dental Infirmary, and the Tufts College Medical School.

Others that could be mentioned as notable institutions of their kind are: Boston State Hospital (for the insane), Dorchester; Psychopathic department on Fenwood Road; Adams Nervine Asylum, Jamaica Plain; Walter Baker Sanitarium, Roxbury; Boston Consumptives' Hospital, Mattapan; Boston Floating Hospital (for infants in the summer); Carney Hospital, South Boston; Cullis Hospital Home, Blue Hill Avenue; Free Home for Consumptives, Dorchester; Gordon Home for Incurables and Aged People, Jamaica Plain; Homeopathic Hospital, Harrison Avenue; New England Hospital for Women, Roxbury; St. Luke's Hospital for Convalescents, Roxbury; St. Margaret's Hospital, Dorchester; St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Brighton; St. Mary's Hospital, Dorchester; Salvation Army Maternity Hospital; United States Marine and United States Naval hospitals, Chelsea. This list would carry more than ninety names to approach completeness.

Boston Dispensary—Many require more than the giving of a name. Beginning with the oldest in the State still extant, the Boston Dispensary, the oldest of its kind in America, was founded in 1796 and incorporated in 1801. A private organization, it receives no aid from either State or city; only the long continued generosity of Boston citizens, and the personal sacrifices of its staff of physicians and surgeons make it possible for the Dispensary to provide public service which made it a model of its kind. The first staff consisted of Dr. John Fleet and two apothecaries, Oliver Smith and Thomas Bartlett. The organization now

consists of 135 physicians and surgeons, 13 graduate nurses, 13 social workers, 8 laboratory and X-ray assistants, 3 dietitians, 3 pharmacists, 18 volunteers, 74 clerical, housekeeping and other employees. These are under the efficient direction of a layman, Frank E. Wing. The expenses for the year 1926 totaled \$234,000. The city is divided by the Dispensary into nine districts, where patients are treated medically and surgically, and medicines are dispensed. There are three principal features to the work of the institution that are distinctive to Boston: The district service, the evening clinics, and the health clinic. The district service gives immediate attention to patients at their homes. Eight doctors with eight substitutes carry on this work for which the needy pay nothing. In 1925 these physicians made 6,479 visits. The Evening Clinic, held three nights a week, since 1913, renders the service of the specialist to those who cannot come through the day. The Health Clinic, an enterprise in preventive medicine, aids those of small means. A general and special examination is given, all by specialists, with laboratory tests of blood and urine. The Dispensary had, in 1927, thirty-two beds for sick children atop the building on Bennet Street, and two wards had been opened recently for adult patients. During 1925 (the last year for which figures are available) the Dispensary helped 30,247; dispensed 46,591 prescriptions; and the laboratory made 38,307 tests and analyses. As an influence and practical factor for the better health of Boston, its services cannot be justly estimated or shown by figures.

Massachusetts General Hospital—With the exception of the Pennsylvania Hospital, the Massachusetts General Hospital is the oldest hospital in America. It owes its existence to Dr. J. C. Warren, the first Professor of Anatomy and Surgery at the Harvard Medical School, which was moved to Boston just after the founding of the hospital, and Dr. James Jackson. The two had succeeded in getting together some funds for the enterprise, and the hospital was incorporated February 25, 1811. It was founded in 1799, when a bequest of \$5,000 was made for the purpose. During its first year the State gave substantial aid. The Legislature voted to its use the Old Province House property on the condition that \$100,000 should be raised within ten years. Later, 1818, the incorporation of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, with the condition that one-third of the net profits should go to the hospital, furnished a source of income. In 1835 the New England Mutual Life, and in 1844, the State Mutual Life Assurance of Worcester, were organized under the same conditions. These sources, together with bequests and other gifts, provided an income that gave the institution a fine start; the hospital opening on September 3, 1821. The first building was constructed of Chelmsford granite, designed by the architect of the new

State House, Charles Bulfinch, and considered the finest edifice in New England. In 1846 two wings were added. This year was also notable in its history for the first public demonstration of ether as a general anaesthetic.

For all its fine start the hospital, during the first three weeks of its existence, received only one patient, and this not because of any repressive restrictions but because only one person applied. Even at the end of a year there were but twelve patients in the wards. Compare this with the 38,938 who were given aid during the year 1925, and we have some measure of the tremendous growth of the institution. Costly as was the original Bulfinch building, the value of the plants of the Massachusetts General Hospital as given for the year 1925, was \$12,012,777. It is to be remembered that the figures quoted for both patients and value include the McLean Hospital at Belmont.

McLean Hospital for the Insane—John McLean, for whom the street leading westerly into the hospital was named, was one of the early benefactors of the organization. He left \$100,000 to the hospital and \$50,000 more to be divided between it and Harvard College. The McLean Hospital for the Insane was also so titled in his honor. This is beautifully located at Belmont, but from the time of its founding in 1818, to 1895 was situated in Somerville in imposing buildings designed by Charles Bulfinch. The present site in Belmont comprises about two hundred acres, on which are placed the twenty-five or more various structures required by the institution. Known as the McLean Asylum until 1892, the McLean Hospital specializes on and treats all sorts of mental diseases. Since 1882 a training school for nurses to which both men and women are admitted, has been sustained. The charter of this institution and of the General Hospital is the same, and both are under the same control of the same board of trustees. In 1927 this board consisted of: George Wigglesworth, chairman; Nathaniel T. Kidder, Joseph B. O'Neil, Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, Thomas B. Gannett, William Endicott, John R. Macomber, Sewall H. Fessenden, Robert Homans, Algernon Coolidge, M. D., Edwin S. Webster, Charles H. W. Foster, treasurer. The hospital maintains a Convalescent Home in Waverly, a short distance from the McLean Hospital, which affords an opportunity for the speedy recovery of patients long confined to their beds.

The Boston Plant of the General Hospital—The Boston plant of the General Hospital is open to patients from all parts of the United States and the British Provinces. Infectious, chronic or incurable cases are, as a rule, barred, but for these there are many other institutions. Despite the constant growth of the hospital, despite the great number of donors

(for the hospital has been dependent upon voluntary gifts since the initial aid given it by the State) the organization has never been able to keep abreast its opportunities and aims. The discovery of a safe anaesthetic was but one of a number of notable series of medical events which has marked the career of the institution. It aims, not only to care for its proportion of the ailing, including the poor, but also to be in the lead in educating the physician, the nurse, the social service worker and the public. It tries to contribute by research to the knowledge and treatment of disease, and to share in the progress of preventive medical measures. Its title "General" quite expresses its purposes, as much as any medical organization can be general in this day of specialization. That it is still a growing institution is due not only to the efficient corps which directs its works, but to the generosity, constant and great, of the citizens, principally, of Boston and New England.

Eye and Ear Infirmary—Near the General Hospital in the West End is the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, now more than a century old. It was established in 1824 through the efforts of Dr. Edward Reynolds and Dr. John Jeffries to give treatment to those unable to afford it elsewhere. It was incorporated in 1827 as the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary. After several changes in location it was established in a new building on Charles Street. The ear department, founded in 1871, but not formally organized, was expanded under the direction of Dr. Charles J. Blake. The present building was erected in 1899, and the nurses' home in 1909. While not a part of the Massachusetts General, both institutions are under the direction of Dr. Frederick A. Washburn. Within the century of its active work the infirmary has advanced from a daily treatment of 2 to 395; in 1925, 5,427 were cared for in the wards, and 75,918 out-visits were made. The operating expenses totaled \$364,382. The infirmary has a remarkable record for its proven usefulness in all phases of its specialties. For its success in the developing of methods in the treatment of cataracts of the eye, in the fight it has made against ophthalmia of the new-born, which is said to be responsible for 30 per cent of all blindness, and in its mastoid surgery, methods in which originated within its walls are copied everywhere, the infirmary is famed throughout our nation. The institution has always been a private enterprise, the State and city contributing nothing to its support. As this is written, the infirmary was making an effort, seemingly destined to be successful, to raise a Centennial Fund of \$1,500,000, part of which is to go to pay for the \$320,000 building now in the course of erection, the remainder to be used to enable the institution to be of still greater value to the public.

Boston Lying-in Hospital—Another of the older Boston institutions in the neighborhood of the Massachusetts General is the Boston Lying-



THE GREAT MALL, HAYMARKET, AND THEATRE

in Hospital on McLean Street, which was organized in 1832 for the care of deserving poor women during confinement. After many changes in management and location, the present home was secured, to which an enlargement was made in 1890. In 1881 an out-patient department was established with a branch in the South End. Students from the Harvard Medical School do some of the outside work. In 1889 the hospital opened a training school for nurses. The Lying-in Hospital had (1925) a plant valued at \$2,285,952, with yearly expenditures of \$122,169, and had given aid to 6,987 during the year.

Other West End Institutions—In this same West End district is the Infants' Hospital, whose full name is the Thomas Morgan Rotch, Jr., Memorial Hospital for Infants. This was incorporated in 1881 and receives in-patients up to two years of age only. In the out-patient department the children may be up to twelve; contagious cases are not treated. In connection with the hospital is a nurses post-graduate training school. Each year, after July 1, the hospital closes and its work is taken over by the Boston Floating Hospital.

The Boston Floating Hospital is one of the most interesting of Boston's charities. The work started with the efforts of Rev. Rufus B. Tobey in 1894. The boat secured was the second hospital of its kind in this country, and the day trips made down the harbor brought health and life back to many a sick or weak child. A new craft was put into commission in 1903 with accommodations for 200 on the upper deck. The lower deck is given over to the permanent patients. During the summer of 1925 six less than an even eleven hundred small patients were helped by their stay on the Floating Hospital.

Two more neighbors of the Massachusetts General are the Channing Home and the Vincent Memorial Hospital. The Channing Home was founded in 1857 by Miss Harriet Ryan, the late Mrs. John Albee, and the present building opened in 1870. It is a home for incurables, women and girls only, and accommodates without charge about twenty-five. The Vincent Memorial Hospital was incorporated in 1890 in memory of Mrs. J. R. Vincent, a member of the old Boston Museum Company. Women patients only are treated. It has grown into a large institution with property worth more than a quarter of a million dollars. Three hundred and twenty-eight were cared for during the year 1925.

City Hospital—In that rather indefinitely defined section known as the South End, is that very important institution called the Boston City Hospital. In the early days the Old South Church was the center of this district, but that building is now in the heart of the business section, and

the South End has been moved so far south as to place it almost wholly on land that did not even exist when the term South End was first used. The City Hospital is built where once was South Bay, and is the center of a densely populated, but not historic part of Boston. The hospital is one of the largest of the city organizations, its plant being valued in 1925 at \$5,456,853; the number of employees at this time was 1,001, and the number of patients aided 112,885, ninety per cent of whom were given free treatment. Although but half the age, and naturally less rich in traditions and historic prestige, it has outgrown the Massachusetts General, and vies with it in the relief of the sick poor, the promotion of medical education and the increase of knowledge.

An interesting feature in connection with the founding of the institution is that Elisha Goodnow, whose bequest led to its formation, was the second patient in the Massachusetts General Hospital. He underwent an operation at the hand of Dr. Warren, and was so impressed by the skill and kindly care given him that thirty years later he left the bulk of his estate for the founding of a free city hospital. The sum was but \$21,000, a large gift for that day however, and was divided, one-half for hospital purposes and the other for the maintenance of free beds. The agitation for the City Hospital started in 1849 during the excitement caused by a cholera epidemic, but it was not established until 1864 under legislation passed in 1858; incorporation was delayed until 1880. The Civil War and its aftermath, the smallpox epidemic in 1872, and the World War, all put tremendous strains upon the hospital which in each case led to special developments. The first led to a doubling of its capacity; the smallpox demonstrated the need of special buildings for the care of those suffering from contagious diseases. The Smallpox Hospital on Southampton Street was one of the results of the epidemic. This is the institution in which the investigations were carried on in the epidemic of 1901-02, which resulted in the famous monograph on "Smallpox" by Dr. W. T. Councilman, of the Harvard Medical School.

The continued growth of the City Hospital has called for constantly increased appropriations for its maintenance. In the five years preceding 1898 \$1,200,000 was spent on new buildings, the scheme adopted being that of building separate pavilions connected with the central structure. This allowed a greater concentration of patients with a lowering of the cost. Altogether the hospital ranks as one of the greatest and best municipal institutions of its kind in the country. Since first opened in 1864, the city institution had (1920) received in its various departments more than a half million patients; and during this period nearly two million had been given out-patient treatment. The annual cost to the city was, in 1920, \$1,239,291. Connected with the hospital is the notable

Nurses' Home, where is housed the second training school in point of age in the United States. The South Department, although under the same management as the mother organization, is almost a separate hospital with its many and large structures given over to contagious diseases. It is thought to be the finest contagious hospital in our country. Under the hospital department are also the Convalescent Home, beautifully located in ample grounds in Dorchester; the Haymarket Square Relief Station, a model of its kind; the East Boston Relief Station, and the West Department in West Roxbury.

One of the more recent additions to the medical charities of the city of Boston is a hospital for the tubercular at Mattapan. In 1906 a board of trustees was appointed having charge of the expenditure of \$514,000 for the purchase of land, buildings and the equipment of such a hospital. Fifty-five acres were secured in Mattapan, where three ward buildings, a number of cottages, as well as other structures were built. Its services since then and particularly since the war, have helped greatly in the fight that is being waged against the "White Plague."

Homeopathic Hospital and Boston University School of Medicine—Returning our attention to the so-called South End, we find there another of the "Big Four" hospitals, the Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital and the Boston University School of Medicine, both of which are built on a plot of ground bounded by Stoughton, Albany and East Concord streets. The hospital was incorporated in 1855, but was inactive until 1870; it has occupied its present location since 1871. It is a general hospital, its wards also being utilized in giving clinical instruction to the students of the Medical School. The movement which led to the founding of the institution grew out of an attempted expulsion from the Massachusetts Medical Society of eight prominent homeopathic practitioners, opposition to the new school of medicine being then at its height. As with many persecutions, the persecuted came out of the troubles only the stronger. Public interest was aroused, adherents to homeopathy increased; a public fair realized over \$80,000 for a hospital. The nucleus of the present large group of buildings was opened in May, 1876; and in 1881 the city conveyed to the institution a large additional tract of land, allowing of further needed expansion. The prejudices of the older day have all but passed away, and in the hospital, physicians of all, or no, schools, work together for the benefit of all. Before additional land had been secured several departments of the hospital had been started or planned, the most of which are in this South End, such as the Maternity Hospital, or Maternity Department on West Newton Street; and the Homeopathic Medical Dispensary of Harrison Avenue, now the Out-Patient Department of the hospital.

Other South End Hospitals—In this same South End section is the Boston Lying-in Hospital, already mentioned; St. Elizabeth's Hospital, several private institutions and many charitable organizations, homes, day nurseries, settlements and the like. One writer has said of it that the South End was "the most charited region in Christendom." St. Elizabeth's on Blackstone Square, is under the charge of the Franciscan Sisters. It was founded in 1868, incorporated in 1872, and has been on the present site since 1888. The hospital was originally made up of several remodeled old mansions, being added to as necessity demanded. The entrance house was the former residence of Justin Winsor, for many years librarian of the Harvard College and the Boston Public libraries. To his "Memorial History of Boston" every student of the history of the city is indebted.

Peter Bent Brigham Hospital—When a Bostonian speaks of the "Big Four" hospitals he has reference to the Massachusetts General, the City, the Homeopathic and the Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, and he seldom mentions the latter without sounding out its full title. Since the erection of the Robert Breck Brigham Hospital the two are sometimes referred to as the Brigham Hospitals, and of them the city man is rightly proud. Two Brighams, uncle and nephew, long associated in the hotel business in Boston in which they were highly successful, left their estates in trust for hospital purposes. Peter Bent Brigham, for years a resident of the old West End, left his money to found a hospital for the poor of the city and county; this was in 1883. It was some years before the bequest was used, and by that time it had amounted to nearly five million dollars. Seventeen years later, Robert Breck Brigham died, leaving nearly four millions to Boston charities, the major proportion of which was to be used for a hospital for those suffering from chronic or incurable diseases, or physical disability. Nine years later his sister, Elizabeth Fay Brigham, passed away, directing that the income from her estate should be devoted to the maintenance of the latter hospital.

The Peter Bent Hospital was built near the Harvard School of Medicine, and is conducted as a general hospital, somewhat on the same basis as the Massachusetts General. Dr. Herbert B. Howard, the first superintendent, held that office until succeeded by the present incumbent, Joseph B. Howland. The eminent staff of doctors has been organized by Harvey Cushing, surgeon-in-chief, and Henry A. Christian, physician. Built just before the World War, the hospital is an example of the luxurious widespread plant now being displaced by the more economical, if less beautiful, many-storied structures. In 1925 the out-door department cared for 60,291 cases. There are 178 beds in the general pavilions of the hospital, with a special section with 47 beds for private patients.

Robert Breck Brigham Hospital—The Robert Breck Brigham Hospital is built upon Parker Hill, Roxbury, and although a mile away faces squarely towards the older institution. Opened in 1914, it was taken over shortly later by the federal authorities for the care of sick and injured American soldiers, being returned to the trustees in 1922. The hospital plays the rôle of both home and hospital. Where the average patient remains in the other Brigham institution from sixteen to eighteen days, he, or she, may stay in the Robert Breck as many months or even years. It is performing a service very different from other hospitals in the concentration of its efforts over a long period on a few, in its constructive treatment of the chronic ill, and in the methods used. Where the older institution aids 13,504 in a year, as it did in 1925, the Robert Breck Brigham cared for 502 in that same period, but they were of the sort for which there is no place in the busy general institution.

Children's Hospital—The principal organization that specializes on the making of sick children well is the Children's Hospital founded in 1869, and carried on by the money given to it by citizens having an interest in bringing back the young to health and happiness. From Rutland Street to Washington Street to Huntington Avenue, each time outgrowing its quarters, the hospital buildings now occupied were erected on Longwood Avenue in the Fenway, beginning with 1914. With the Infants' Hospital, a legally separate institution but in practice and management, one, the impressive plant has 275 beds; at Rutland Street, the number was 20, at Huntington Avenue 80. To run the hospital cost \$392,967 in 1925, and during that same year it required for its work a staff of 20 resident and 60 consulting doctors and 192 nurses. A total of 19,352 were cared for during the year. In the out-patient department from 200 to 300 children are visited daily, and 57,000 visits are made yearly. There is a convalescent home in Wellesley Hills, operated as a part of the hospital. The home had built for it in 1925 a splendid solarium, the gift of Miss Mary Weld, a memorial to her father, Dr. Charles G. Weld.

New England Hospital for Women—The battle waged by the women for recognition in medicine was protracted, but has long since been won. The founding in 1863 of the New England Hospital for Women and Children was one of the big guns fired in this battle. The stated objects of this hospital, which were then unlike any other in the city, were to provide for women medical aid of competent physicians of their own sex; to assist educated women in the practical study of medicine; to train nurses for the care of the sick. Beginning in a small house on Pleasant Street, the hospital has grown until it now (1927) occupies four large buildings and several smaller ones on Columbus Avenue, in

Roxbury. The first building of this group, the Medical, was erected in 1872; the large Surgical building was added in 1899. The work of the institution has far outgrown the original equipment; although with accommodations for 147 patients, the hospital is one of the largest. Plans are under way to replace the small Kimball cottage in which the children receive treatment. Until 1924 the hospital was directed by a staff made up wholly of women, but there is now a courtesy staff of forty men. The hospital's training school for nurses bears a high reputation. Organized in 1872, under Dr. Susan Dimock, it was the first in this country to give instruction in the three departments of medicine, surgery and obstetrics. The hospital, as a whole, is a monument to the efforts of Dr. Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska, who, although she had made a name for herself as a physician in Berlin, Germany, found on her arrival in this country that it was impossible to earn a living at her profession. After mastering our language she was graduated from the Cleveland Medical College, becoming, in 1859, a teacher in the New England Female Medical College in Boston. Realizing that such a school lacking a hospital, also lacked the facilities for practical training, she, with the aid of Lucy Goddard, Ednah B. Cheney and others, founded the present hospital. Among her friends were Lucy Stone, probably Blackwell, Julia Ward Howe and William Lloyd Garrison.

Forsyth Dental Infirmary—The Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children on the Fenway, is another of the unique institutions of Boston, whose founding has somewhat of the romantic in it. A man sitting in a dentist's chair remarked that he had a half million dollars which he would like some time to give to some worthwhile charity. The dentist, an old friend, suggested a dental infirmary for children, a very novel sort of an institution for the time. It is only within recent years that it has been recognized how many children have defective teeth, or are suffering from related troubles. The gentleman in question was James Bennett Forsyth, the elder of four brothers. Upon his death, his unsigned will was found to have bequeathed a very large sum to the suggested charity. Meanwhile George Henry Forsyth, a second brother, had died, and the surviving brothers, the heirs, determined to not only carry out the provisions of the will, but to add to the amounts mentioned, to provide a memorial to them both. The sum of \$2,000,000 thus became available for an endowment, while expenditures for the building for the Infirmary totaled more than half this sum. The Infirmary has every modern convenience or necessity of such an institution. Seventy-five dentists, with as many chairs, give free treatment to all the children of Boston who desire; there is room provided for further expansion up to a limit of 110 chairs. Other rooms in the building give space for various treatments,

including that of ear and throat. Connected with the infirmary is a Post-graduate School of Orthodontia, whose aim is to educate specialists and teachers; the science is taught eclectically. During the year 1925, 76,792 individuals were aided by the Infirmary.

Roxbury Institutions—Roxbury, coeval in settlement with Boston, has been the home of many hospitals, both public and private. Several have been mentioned; others that might well be are the Boston Psychopathic Hospital; Roxbury Eye and Ear; St. Luke's Home for Convalescents, founded in 1872; Elm Hill Private, and the Frederick L. Taylor. Just beyond in West Roxbury is the United States Veterans' Hospital. This latter institution, under the capable direction of Dr. Edgar O. Crossman, with the aid of E. L. Shubert and C. P. Bodwell, is doing a splendid work in the rehabilitation of a few of the 26,000 of the soldiers and sailors of the World War for whom there has been no armistice, since they are still fighting what are to them very real battles for their country. Of this great number, only 257 are cared for in the Veterans' Hospital, where every measure is being taken to restore their unhinged minds. The hospital is located in what were formerly the buildings of the Boston Parental School, and consists of some twenty scattered structures. The expense of the work is borne by the National Government.

Jamaica Plain Hospitals—Jamaica Plain, with its Bussey Institution built in 1871, and having a station of the Massachusetts State Board of Health which had its origin in 1849, a year of unusual sickness, the beautiful Arnold Arboretum, and many wonderful sites for institutions, has several of note. The Adams Nervine Asylum, not far from the Arboretum, dates back to 1873 when, by the will of Seth Adams, it was established "for the benefit of such indigent, debilitated, nervous people who, not insane, . . . as may be in the need of the benefit of a curative institution." The plant of this establishment is now valued at nearly one million dollars, and about two hundred are cared for in it annually. The Faulkner Hospital, opened in 1903, is the gift of George Faulkner and his wife, Abby L. A. Faulkner, for the people of the old town of West Roxbury; 1,829 persons were served during 1925; the several wards contain beds devoted to surgical, medical and obstetrical work. The Talitha Cumi Maternity Home has accommodations for about thirty prospective mothers who are, as yet, unmarried. It was founded in 1836, when to give aid to an erring sister tarred the giver. Even in the face of social ostracism, a few good women secured the funds for the Home, and persisted in the face of every discouragement, of which perhaps the hardest to bear was clerical. The Home was first established in Brookline, being removed to Forest Hills, Jamaica Plain in 1912. The name of the institution is taken from the words of Jesus: "And he took her by the hand

and said unto her, 'Talitha Cumi' which is being interpreted, 'Damsel, I say unto the, arise'" (Mark, V, 4). Other hospitals in Jamaica Plain are: Emerson, Forest Hills, and Reede hospitals, and the Jamaica Plain Dispensary.

Dorchester Institutions—Dorchester, the largest town in New England in 1634, was annexed to Boston in 1838. A place of homes, it has a number of private hospitals, and several others of long history and usefulness. The Boston Home for Incurables, founded in 1882, is now better known as the Palmer Memorial Home. It is devoted to the aid of the poor, afflicted with incurable diseases. The St. Mary's Infant Asylum and Lying-in Hospital was organized in 1874 by the Sisters of Charity, St. Vincent de Paul. There is also the Boston Convalescent Home, the Mattapan Institution for the Tubercular, St. Margaret's Hospital, the McCreight Sanatorium, the Dudley Private Hospital and the McDonald's Convalescent Home. At East Boston are the Maverick Dispensary, and the Strong Hospital, among others. Charlestown has several national government institutions just outside the city limits.

List of Boston Medical Institutions in 1927—The following is a 1927 list of the Boston hospitals and dispensaries with their locations:

- Adams Nervine Asylum, 990 Centre Street, Jamaica Plain.
- Angell Memorial Animal Hospital, 184 Longwood Avenue.
- Bay State Hospital, 310 Bay State Road.
- Berkeley Infirmary, 44 Dwight Street.
- Beth Israel Hospital, 45 Townsend Annex; 67 do. and 255 Walnut Avenue.
- Boston City Hospital, 818 Harrison Avenue, South Depot, 745 Massachusetts Avenue, Relief Station, Haymarket Square, and 14 Porter E. B.
- Boston Dispensary, 35 Bennet Street.
- Boston Floating Hospital, office 244 Washington Street, Room 43 on shore department. 40 Wigglesworth-Roxbury (Street).
- Boston Home for Incurables, 2049 Dorchester Avenue.
- Boston Lying-In Hospital, 16 McLean Street, 14 Rollins Street and 221 Longwood Avenue.
- Boston Nursery for Blind Babies, 147 South Huntington Avenue.
- Boston Psychopathic Hospital, 74 Fenwood Road, Roxbury.
- Boston Sanatorium, 249 River Street, Mattapan; Out Patient Department 1 Newland Place.
- Boston State Hospital, East Group, 425 Harvard Street, Dorchester; West Group, Walk Hill, corner Canterbury Street, Mattapan; Psychopathic Department, 74 Fenwood Road.
- Boston Work Horse Relief Association, 109 Northampton Street.
- Brigham, Peter Bent, Hospital, 721 Huntington Avenue.
- Brigham, Robert B., Hospital for Incurables, 125 Parker Hill Avenue, and office, 18 Tremont Street, Room 1102.
- Carney Hospital, 30 Old Harbor Street; Out-Patient department, 140 Dorchester Street.

- Channing Home for Consumptive Woman, Pilgrim Road, corner Francis Street.
Children's Hospital, 300 Longwood Avenue.
Christian, Dr. A. F., Private Hospital, 401 Marlborough Street.
City Hospital Relief Station, 14 Porter and Haymarket Square.
City of Boston Health Unit, No. 1, 17 Blossom Street.
Codman Square Hospital, 3 Aspinwall Road.
Commonwealth Avenue Hospital, 619 Commonwealth Avenue.
Commonwealth Hospital for Animals, 26 Cummington Street.
Conant Hospital, 202 Bay State Road.
Convalescent Home, City Hospital, 2150 Dorchester Avenue.
Deaconess Hospital, 15 Deaconess Road.
Detention Hospital, The, 112 Southampton Street.
Dispensary for Women, 633 Massachusetts Avenue.
Dorchester Cottage Hospital, 32 Moultrie Street.
Dudley Private Hospital, 32 Harvard Avenue, Dorchester.
East Boston Relief Hospital, 14 Porter Street, East Boston.
Eliot Private Hospital, 107 Audubon Road.
Elm Hill Private Hospital, 241 Walnut Avenue, Roxbury.
Emerson Hospital, 118 Forest Hills, Jamaica Plain.
Faulkner Hospital, Center Street, corner Allendale Street, Jamaica Plain.
Fenway Hospital, 298 Newbury Street.
Florence Crittenton Home and Hospital, 10 Perthshire Road.
Forest Hills Hospital, 29 Morton Street, Jamaica Plain.
Forsyth Dental Infirmary for Children, 140 Fenway.
Harley Hospital, 6 Windermere Road.
Harrison Avenue Medical and Surgical Dispensary, 229 Harrison Avenue.
Hart Private Hospital, 95 Moreland Street.
Harvard Medical School, 240 Longwood Avenue.
Haymarket Square Relief Station, Haymarket Square.
Home for Nervous Patients, 46 Burroughs Street, Jamaica Plain.
Home of the Good Samaritan, 25 Binney Street.
Horne Sanitarium, 30 Beaumont Street.
Huntington, Collis P., Memorial Hospital, 695 Huntington Avenue.
Infants Hospital, 300 Longwood Avenue.
Jamaica Plain Dispensary, 26 South Street, Jamaica Plain.
Lawrence Ashton Hospital, 109 Northampton Street.
McCreight Sanitarium, Home Hospital, 58 Bowdoin Avenue, Dorchester.
MacDonald's Convalescent Home, 47 Ocean Street, Dorchester.
MacLeod Hospital, 845 Beacon Street.
Massachusetts Charitable Eye & Ear Infirmary, 243 Charles Street.
Massachusetts Dispensary, 92 Compton Street.
Massachusetts General Hospital, Blossom Street, treasurer's office, 50 State Street, Room 54.
Massachusetts Home, Binney Street, corner Deaconess Road.
Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital, 82 East Concord Street; Out-Patient Department, 750 Harrison Avenue; Evans Memorial, 80 East Concord; Robinson Memorial, Stoughton Street; Department for Contagious Diseases, 296 Allston Boulevard; Convalescent Home for Men, 23 Everett Street, Dorchester; Home for Nurses, 748 Harrison Avenue, and Hayes Memorial for Contagion, 296 Allston Boulevard.

Massachusetts Women's Hospital, 53 Parker Hill Avenue.
Maverick Dispensary, 18 Chelsea Street, East Boston.
Medical Mission Dispensary, 36 Hull Street.
New England Baptist Hospital, 91 Parker Hill Avenue.
New England Deaconess Hospital, 15 Deaconess Road.
New England Hospital for Women and Children, Dimock Street, Roxbury.
Northampton Street Veterinary Hospital, 255 Northampton Street.
Osgood, Frederick H. Co., 50 Village Street (Veterinary).
Palmer Memorial Hospital for Incurables, 560 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester.
Parkway Sanitarium, 31 Linnet Street, W. R.
Peter Bent Brigham Hospital, 721 Huntington Avenue, Roxbury.
Plymouth Hospital, 12 East Springfield Street.
Reede Hospital, 86 Elm Street, Jamaica Plain.
Riverbank Hospital, 169 Bay State Road.
Robert Breck Brigham Hospital, 125 Parker Hill Avenue.
Rockledge Home, 3 Parley Vale.
Roxbury Eye and Ear Infirmary, 24 Warren Street, Roxbury.
Roxbury Hospital (Salvation Army), 85 Vernon Street, Roxbury.
St. Elizabeth Hospital, 736 Cambridge Boulevard.
St. Luke's Home for Convalescents, 149 Roxbury Street, Roxbury.
St. Margaret's Hospital, 96 Cushing Avenue, Dorchester.
St. Mary's Hospital, 90 Cushing Avenue.
St. Mary's Infant Asylum and Lying-In Hospital, Everett Avenue and Jerome Street.
Salvation Army Maternity Hospital, 202 West Newton Street.
South End Dispensary and Hospital, 24 Milford Street.
Strong Hospital, 1 Monmouth Square, East Boston.
Talitha Cumi Maternity Home and Hospital, 215 Forest Hills, Jamaica Plain.
Taylor, Frederick L., 45 Centre Street, Roxbury.
U. S. Marine Hospital, office, Custom House.
U. S. Veterans' Hospital, No. 36, No. 44, 255 Spring Street, W. R.
Vincent Memorial Hospital, 125 South Huntington Avenue.
Washington Home, 41 Waltham Street.





